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# The Dramatic Experiments of Eugene O'Neill

I do not think that anybody familiar with the facts will oppose the view that O'Neill is the foremost in a group of writers who have begun a new era in the history of the American drama. The change occurring in the years between 1915 and 1925 is more remarkable than the one that followed as important an event as the War of Independence. A few words on the earlier periods are indispensable for an understanding of O'Neill's achievement. Whatever its effects on other spheres of life the War of Independence failed to liberate the theatrical life of the former colonies from its traditional dependence upon the example of London. It is true, the American theatres of the late 18th and the 19th century could boast of American actors, but these very often did not interest the public as much as the star actors of London who found frequent tours through the growing United States profitable undertakings: There were American dramatists as well but they found it hard to compete with their European colleagues, and frequently restricted their endeavours to the clever rehandling of French, German, English and other foreign plays. When the dramatists tried to be original they were so in their matter rather than in their manner. They filled the approved patterns of the European theatre with American material. An early example is William Dunlap's sentimental tragedy *André* (1798), treating an episode in the War of Independence in a style that reminds us of Addison's classicism although it pays tribute to the 18th century delight in tear-compelling thrills. A melodrama without classicist self-restraint is James Nelson Barker's *Tragedy of Superstition* (1824) taking the spectator back to the days of the Puritan theocracy in New England and showing the dreadful consequences of Puritan superstition. The simple, crude psychology, the delight in sensational stage events, such as the fighting off of an Indian attack on a village, are traits of melodrama. It is worth noticing that plays of this sort did not necessarily require a happy ending in the period under discussion. Later in the century audiences would have boggled at the cruel end of Barker's hero and heroine. Such historical plays were accompanied by dramatic versions of beloved American legends like the one of the beautiful Indian princess Pocahontas and of Rip van Winkle, e.g. *Pocahontas or the Settlers of Virginia*, composed by George Washington Custis in 1830. In the hands of this author the story loses much of its point because he is prevented from depicting the enemies of the white settlers in appropriately sinister colours by his interest in the romantic dream of the noble savage. Cooper's most idealized Red Indians appear realistic compared to his stage-figures. Of course, the American dramatists never restricted themselves completely to American subjects. The nostalgic delight in things European, so prevalent among the cultured class in the last century, led many writers to the

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treatment of the great romantic themes of the old world. They were no more afraid of the fate of the imitator than the architects who filled the growing towns and cities in the Middle and the Far West with buildings illustrating the styles of all ages and countries but lacking an organic connection with their surroundings and even with their purpose. A high place among the numerous imitative dramas of the age is rightfully accorded to George Henry Boker's *Francesca da Rimini* (1855), an amazingly successful attempt to out-Shakespeare Shakespeare in the middle of the 19th century.

The production of romantic plays of this sort never stopped, but in the second part of the century melodramas and comedies mildly reflected the mild tendency of the contemporary English plays towards factual and psychological realism and the treatment of one of the pressing problems of the day. In 1859, a short time before the outbreak of the Civil War, Dion Boucicault's *Octoroon* was produced in New York. In it this versatile purveyor of melodrama to the theatres of Great Britain and the United States gave a lively idea of the conditions on a plantation in Louisiana at the moment when the northern and western form of life began to oust the southern one. We are invited to weep over the impossible love and heroic death of beautiful Zoe, who is classed as a negress although only one of her eight great-grandparents was black. The surface of the play is realistic, especially in the scenes depicting the manners and the language of the southern negroes. As soon as we study it more closely we discover a number of conventional melodramatic types and situations under the realistic veneer. Also the wealth of sensational, partly quite impossible, incidents reveals the true nature of this play. Among them there is the hunt of the Indian boy Wahnotee after Jacob M'Closky, the conventional stage villain cleverly disguised as a Yankee sharper. The series of short cinematographic scenes that show M'Closky running for his life anticipate some of the cruder effects of the death race of O'Neill's *Emperor Jones*.

The formula of this play was consciously or unconsciously repeated by the most successful dramatists of the following decades. Time and again the stock types of melodrama and farce were given new settings, and pressing problems were touched in a manner that did not hurt anybody. About the turn of the century several dramatists were clever and conscientious enough to reduce the conventional element to a minimum and to introduce observations, questions and interpretations of their own into their plays. However, they never went as far in this as to endanger the success of their productions; the taste of the New York audiences remained their ultimate point of reference. Such respectable and accomplished dramatists as David Belasco, Bronson Howard, Clyde Fitch and Augustus Thomas did not find it too difficult to accept the laws laid down by that authority as they were in sympathy with them in most of their moods. An admirable illustration of this is Bronson Howard's *Autobiography of a Play*, a lecture delivered at Harvard University in 1886 on the development of his drama *The Banker's Daughter*. The most revealing pages of this document are quoted in Arthur Hobson Quinn's *History of the American Drama* (I, 44ff.). We

reproduce a few characteristic sentences in it: "A dramatist should deal, so far as possible, with subjects of universal interest, instead of with such as appeal strongly to a part of the public only. I do not mean that he may not appeal to certain classes of people, and depend upon those classes for success; but, just so far as he does this, he limits the possibilities of that success. ... Furthermore — and here comes in another law of dramatic construction — a play must be, in one way or another, 'satisfactory' to the audience. This word has a meaning which varies in different countries, and even in different parts of the same country; but whatever audience you are writing for, your work must be 'satisfactory' to it. In England and America, the death of a pure woman on the stage is not 'satisfactory', except when the play rises to the dignity of tragedy. The death, in an ordinary play, of a woman who is not pure, as in the case of *Frou-Frou*, is perfectly satisfactory, for the reason that it is inevitable. Human nature always bows gracefully to the inevitable. ... The wife who has once taken the step from purity to impurity can never reinstate herself in the world of art on this side of the grave; and so an audience looks with complacent tears on the death of an erring woman". All this is queer doctrine for modern ears, but it was the doctrine of a serious dramatist, who had made his peace with the commercial theatres of the late 19th and the early 20th century.

Those theatres, for a time in the hands of a powerful trust, worked for financial gain in the first place, and therefore did not dream of producing plays that were not entirely "satisfactory" to the paying audiences. Of course, there were men who did not accept Bronson Howard's worldly wisdom, and they were punished by lack of success. Excellent dramas like James A. Herne's realistic problem play *Margaret Fleming* (1890) and William Vaughn Moody's *Faith Healer* (1909), a study in the religious psychology of the simple farmers in the west, had to be content with the applause of a few discerning critics.

The experiments necessary for the development of a free and sincere American drama could not take place in the old and new commercial houses. In this state of affairs it was a happy accident that an unheard-of concentration of the theatrical life in New York took place in the first decades of our century. The rather extensive American "province" found itself deprived of its usual theatrical fare because various economic factors made it unprofitable for the New York companies to tour the country in the traditional way. Thus the ground was prepared for the growth of the *Little Theatres*, which sprang up all over the country in large and small places.<sup>1</sup> They owed their origin to the enthusiasm of simple and of sophisticated theatre lovers. Their aim was not financial gain, but good productions of the great old and the most interesting modern plays. Many of them reached a fair, some an excellent standard of production. The

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jean Carter and Jess Ogden, *Everyman's Drama. A Study of the Non-Commercial Theatre in the United States*. New York 1938.

whole movement was supported by the parallel development of the university and college theatres. In many of the best academic institutions the students were encouraged to study the history of the drama and theatre as well as the practical questions connected with the writing and the production of plays, and to experiment on well equipped special stages. The most famous dramatic department of all was the one created by Professor George Pierce Baker: O'Neill followed his courses in 1914/15. These academic institutions did not intend to serve the needs of future professionals only; they hoped to train better amateur producers and actors, better critics, and better audiences as well.

The Little Theatres that did most for the new American drama were the Art Theatres, run by young intellectuals and artists, high-brows, who were thoroughly disgusted by the methods of the commercial stages. It is not necessary to repeat the often told tale of those ambitious undertakings, which thrived particularly well in the suburbs of the big cities. We only mention the Provincetown Players, who began modestly enough in Provincetown (Mass.) in the summer of 1915, but won success and recognition as worthy interpreters of modern plays of literary merit after they had settled down in Greenwich Village, New York. Many other Art Theatres specialized in the production of the European drama since Ibsen; the Provincetown Players, however, presented mainly American plays. The most important author for whom they won recognition and a public was Eugene O'Neill. This ambitious and hard-working young author was thirty years old in 1918 when he approached the end of his dramatic apprenticeship. His youth had been adventurous. Haunted by an invincible thirst for experience he had passed through various modes of life in his own country, on the sea, and abroad.<sup>2</sup> As his father was a well-known actor in a touring company O'Neill was in touch with the theatre from his earliest days. As a child and as a young man he had every opportunity to observe the theatrical conditions against which he decided to rebel when he became a playwright. He arrived at this decision while he was spending six months in a sanatorium in 1913 on account of a touch of pulmonary tuberculosis. Then there followed a period of intense productivity from 1914 to 1934. While it lasted O'Neill composed a remarkable number of plays, many of which he rejected later as unworthy of preservation. If we do not count the rejected ones his contribution to dramatic literature comprises about a dozen short and twenty long works. It was important for him, as it was for many another dramatic aspirant in America and elsewhere, that he was given the chance of trying his hand at one-act plays first.<sup>3</sup> When he had

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<sup>2</sup> For a short account of his life and work cf. Richard Kühnemund, *Das Drama Eugene O'Neills*, *Anglia*, LII, 1928, 244 ff., and also A. H. Quinn, *History of the American Drama*, II, 165 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Gustav L. Plessow has tried to bring the peculiarities of the modern American one-act play into a system in *Das amerikanische Kurzschauspiel zwischen 1910 und 1930*, Halle 1933 (*Studien zur englischen Philologie*, Heft LXXXIII).

mastered this form he moved on to the longer plays which brought him national and international fame. No less remarkable than the sudden beginning of his career as a dramatist was its unexpected end in 1934. Disgust at the turn international affairs took in the thirties and illness are said to have silenced him. Last autumn, however, he brought out a new play, *The Iceman Cometh*, which the present writer has not yet been able to study.

It cannot be our task to give another chronological survey of O'Neill's dramas. This has been done by many writers on the American drama and on O'Neill.<sup>4</sup> What we propose to do, is to correlate the philosophy in the most important plays, to discover the reasons for O'Neill's moving from one dramatic form to another, to approach the questions whether his changing methods spring from the whim of a writer who covers the fact that he has nothing to say by his technical skill, whether they are the inevitable outcome of his unstable view of man and the world, whether they have a personal significance only or symbolize the mental condition of one of the world's leading nations.

We can begin our interpretation by pointing out that O'Neill has hardly ever given up his opposition against the conventional theatre, against the play that is "satisfactory" in the sense of Bronson Howard. Like many lesser men of the Little Theatre Movement he absolutely refused to show a picture of life on the stage that was distorted by conventions dear to the paying majority. It is true, once, in a mood of relaxation, he has followed the beaten path. This happened when he composed the charming comedy *Ah, Wilderness!* (1933), the only one of his plays in which we find humour. Nevertheless, it is his outstanding characteristic that he carefully avoided the conventions cherished by the customers of the commercial theatres, and tried to introduce old and new conventions from other countries or even to invent new ones. Moreover, he was quite ready to face life in its American form. Not because he thought it perfect. He felt no desire to glorify the United States in his art, nor did he wish to escape from them. The American form of life was the one he knew best; therefore he made it his main subject. Like Sinclair Lewis, H. L. Mencken and other intellectual leaders of his generation he looked at his countrymen and their problems in a detached and critical way. And the young people who were going through the experience of the war and the post-war era shared this attitude; they read and admired Lewis and Mencken, and they proclaimed O'Neill the first dramatist of America. O'Neill's freedom from any escapist love of Europe and its tradition by no means prevented him from a close study of European literature, especially of the modern dramatists. Signs of his

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<sup>4</sup> For a bibliography cf. R. Sanborn and B. H. Clark, *A Bibliography of the Works of Eugene O'Neill*, New York 1931, and Fred B. Millett, *Contemporary American Authors*, New York 1943, 517 ff. Comprehensive studies of the dramatist have been attempted by B. H. Clark (New York 1929), by S. K. Winther (New York 1934), by R. D. Skinner (New York 1935), and by O. Koischwitz (Berlin 1938).

knowledge of Ibsen. Strindberg, Shaw and Synge are frequently met with in his plays.<sup>5</sup>

The strongest impression we get in surveying O'Neill's plots and figures is the deterministic mood that pervades them. If one of his human beings appears to be a free agent this is the result of an abbreviation necessitated by dramatic economy. It is manifestly impossible to unfold in a play all the influences and conditions that have made the behaviour of a person what it is according to the deterministic creed. As a dramatist O'Neill can only relate characteristic actions to the most decisive of their causes. In many of his plays the milieu in the widest sense of the term appears as a force-shaping character and destiny. In the early one-act plays the sea and its atmosphere function in this way. The half-witted hero of "*The Hairy Ape*" (1922)<sup>6</sup> is a creature of the stokehole on an ocean liner. The atmosphere of a New England home is a powerful agent in the Puritan plays *Desire under the Elms* (1925) and *Mourning Becomes Electra* (1931). Another shaping power that dominates the will is race. In O'Neill's negro plays *The Emperor Jones* (1921) and *All God's Chillun Got Wings* (1924) the racial characteristics of the main figures have a decisive effect on their behaviour and fate. A further determining factor is heredity. Its influence is shown incidentally in all the plays where parents and children appear: in the Puritan plays we have mentioned and in *Dynamo* (1929) it is all-powerful. These conditioning forces have an ally in the psychological make-up of many of O'Neill's figures. Their author has created them according to the notions of the modern psychology of the conscious and the subconscious. Not only in *Strange Interlude* (1928), where human beings are used as guinea-pigs in a long series of experiments on Freudian lines, can we observe the subtle, but nevertheless mechanical effects of youthful frustrations, suppressed sexual desires, of fixations and compensations on the behaviour of man.

These hints must suffice to show how strongly O'Neill is affected by the desire for an entirely naturalistic conception of man, so typical of the United States in the period between the two world wars. If we wish to understand why this desire and the corresponding mood could become so wide-spread we have to remember the experiences of four generations of Americans since the beginning of the great expansion. They had witnessed a gigantic struggle for the winning of the empty space in the west. Economic problems had been foremost in their minds. They had seen the most diverse types of European immigrants develop into rather uniform Americans in their new surroundings, under the pressure of one and

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<sup>5</sup> The structure of O'Neill's *Ile*, *Where the Cross is Made* and *The Rope* reminds us of Ibsen's technique. His attempts to stage his figures' illusions for us point to Strindberg, his projection of modern problems into the history of Marco Polo to Shaw, his frequent use of the Anglo-Irish idiom to Synge. On this last point cf. Andrew E. Malone, *The Plays of Eugene O'Neill*, *The Contemporary Review*, CXXIX, January-June, 1926, 363 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The date of their first publication is added to the titles of O'Neill's plays when they are first mentioned in this article.

the same huge economic task. All this prepared them for a philosophy of the naturalistic type like the one offered them by John Dewey and the radical empiricists. Professor Straumann, in his article on *The Philosophical Background of the Modern American Drama* (*English Studies*, XXVI, 1944, 65ff.), has worked out the affinities between this school of thought and the modern plays more in detail. He has also pointed out that the naturalistic tendency is counteracted by a metaphysical one, which he relates to the older Christian and idealistic trends of American thought. His diagnosis of a clashing of the two tendencies in O'Neill is a most valuable result of that article.

We turn once more to the plays to discover signs of O'Neill's rebellion against that same naturalistic interpretation of man by which he was fascinated so much. In his earlier and his later plays an irrational element makes its appearance which pierces through the net of conditioning influences in which his figures are caught. It takes the form of a longing for another life. This dream may be of a simple materialistic type, if a primitive man is the dreamer; it can take a metaphysical, or even a clearly religious aspect in people with finer minds. In *The Moon of the Caribees* (1919) it is the young Englishman Smitty who cannot join in the drunken pleasures of his fellow-sailors because he is tormented by sentimental memories and longings. In *The Long Voyage Home* (1919) the heavy, somewhat stupid Swede Olson tries in vain to realize his dream of a new existence in his native country far from the sea and the monotony and brutality of his present life. The title of O'Neill's first long play *Beyond the Horizon* (1920) indicates that longing is a central motive in it. The reaching out of a dissatisfied soul after a life that is different, better, fuller of love, nearer to God is important also in "*The Hairy Ape*", *All God's Chillun Got Wings*, *The Fountain* (1926), in *The Great God Brown* (1926) and *Days without End* (1934).

A striking consequence of this metaphysical thirst in O'Neill is the number and the quality of the death scenes he has created. It is true, there are deaths in his play that appear final; the author is interested in them merely as the ends of an individual's career: such are the deaths of the Emperor Jones and of the miserable protagonists of *Diff'rent* (1921). Or O'Neill may introduce a person's death in order to study its effect on other figures. The deaths of Sam Evans in *Strange Interlude* and of Ezra Mannon in *Mourning Becomes Electra* are of this type. More characteristic are scenes of death in which the dying person turns from this life full of an intense longing for something else and something better. In *Bound East for Cardiff* (1916) the American sailor Yank meets death without struggling very hard against it because he is sick of a seaman's life, and his last minutes are illumined by his dream of another existence on a farm.

A highly characteristic end is that of Robert in *Beyond the Horizon*. When he comes to die after a life that was unhappy because a dreamer and a poet was fettered to a farm, he says: "You mustn't feel sorry for me. Don't you see I am happy at last — free — free! — freed from the farm —

free to wander on and on — eternally! (He raises himself on his elbow, his face radiant, and points to the horizon.) Look! Isn't it beautiful beyond the hills? I can hear the old voices calling me to come — (Exultantly) And this time I'm going! It isn't the end. It's a free beginning — the start of my voyage! I've won to my trip — the right of release — beyond the horizon! ..."

A strange happy-unhappy scene closes *The Straw* (1921) when poor young Eileen is about to die of tuberculosis in a sanatorium. The man who has helped to sap her vitality by not responding to her love is deeply moved when he realizes what has happened. He makes her believe that he loves and wants to marry her, and her joy is so overwhelming that they both begin to believe in the possibility of a happy future for them at the moment when death is approaching.

O'Neill's final remark in "*The Hairy Ape*" is worth considering in this connection. Yank, the creature of the stokehole who is the hero of this play, has lost his primitive self-confidence, his sense of "belonging" somewhere, in the course of a humiliating confrontation with a rich and elegant young lady. It is like a "fall", a loss of the brutish innocence of this half-brother of Caliban. It fills him with a mad craving to destroy the world to which he does not belong. It makes him envy the unbroken animal nature of the gorilla in the zoo. He opens the cage to win a brother wrecker in the beast, and is suddenly hugged to death by it. And the author's laconic comment runs: "And, perhaps, the Hairy Ape at last belongs."

A stronger light shines at the end of *Desire under the Elms* when the child-murderer Abbie and her guilty lover go to face justice as well as at the deaths of Dion Anthony in *The Great God Brown*, of Juan Ponce de Leon in *The Fountain*, and of Queen Kukachin in "*Marco Millions*" (1927).

It would be an error if we tried to nail O'Neill down to any one specific conception of death because it is by no means given the same function and meaning in all his plays. It can appear as a mere end or as a door to a land of fulfilment; in the extremely audacious play *Lazarus Laughed* (1927), however, which is entirely dominated by the life-death question, death is mystically absorbed into life. It retains no reality whatsoever except as a condition of the renewal of life. Lazarus, returned from the dead, fills the villages and cities of the empire with his irresistible laughter and his paean of the eternal power and glory of life. The play betrays the fact that O'Neill was not immune against one of the major temptations of the modern artist: he appears in the part of the prophet of some sort of new religion. His doctrine is a rather crude vitalistic creed, disguised by fine mystic words. Woe to the actor that tries to cope with the innumerable volleys of sublime laughter required of Lazarus in the course of this play!

We could define the philosophy of O'Neill's plays as determinism experienced as something that is not enough, that provokes an insatiable metaphysical thirst. Usually he is satisfied to express this inner condition in dramatic form, sometimes, however, he gropes for some mystic medicine to allay his thirst.

We now turn to a consideration of the methods by which O'Neill turned his philosophy into drama. It will be our chief care to observe where he saw the necessity of conflict in a world of beings so closely bound by the law of cause and effect, and to see how he managed to write drama, once his interest had become concentrated in the struggles within the individual souls.

In his first phase, when he composed his short plays, the last-mentioned problem did not trouble him yet. If we look at the Glencairn one-act plays, dealing with the life on a British tramp steamer, we find the young author mainly interested in the effect of milieu on behaviour. The plots are of the slightest: the last minutes of a sailor who has got injured in a commonplace accident; the talking, drinking, love-making and brawling of the crew while the ship is at anchor off an island in the West Indies at night. The strongest point of these plays is their atmosphere. They cannot therefore be called naturalistic in the strict sense of the term. Although many minute details are recorded in the stage-directions O'Neill does not attempt mere photographic reproduction: all his details are calculated to create a dramatic illusion. In *Bound East for Cardiff* the irregular form of the seamen's fore-castle and the sleeping bunks ranged one above the other effectively suggest a life within narrow limits, devoid of a personal sphere. Acoustic effects are carefully introduced: the steamer's whistle is heard at regular intervals, one of the sailors is playing on the accordion. Besides, the smoke of poor tobacco is hanging in the air. No means of making the spectator conscious of the quality of the place is neglected, and the sailors that come and go become the creatures of this place for him. Although they represent different national-types their reactions have become similar by their common work and life on the sea. The author is interested in group psychology rather than in individual psychology in this play and its companion pieces.

The Glencairn plays are accompanied by a group of other short works — *Ile* (1919), *Where the Cross is Made* (1919) and *The Rope* (1919) — in which an unusual personality is shown in conflict with his milieu. The milieu element is no longer the dominating feature. In *Ile* the iron will of Captain Keeney overcomes the wish of his mutinous crew to return home although his wife, who cannot stand the monotony of a protracted whaling expedition any longer, implores him, too, to give up his crazy plan of remaining at sea until he has got all the oil his vessel can carry. The captain's imperviousness approaches a kind of mania and causes his wife's nervous break-down. O'Neill's interest in abnormal mental conditions makes itself felt for the first time. The central figures in the other two plays we have mentioned are real maniacs. Captain Bartlett is possessed by the idea that he must get hold of a treasure-chest hidden on a far-off island. Although there are hints as to the origin of his illusion — to be developed in *Gold* (1920), a three-act version of the same story — O'Neill concentrates on its effects on the captain himself and on his children, his son, who is weak enough to inherit his mania, and his strong, resisting

daughter. Also in *The Rope* Old Bentley's mad avarice is taken for granted, and its effects are shown on the stage, or rather the last phase of its effects. In all the three plays the motives are clearly subservient to the author's desire to write gripping drama. We do not get this impression when we turn to the works of O'Neill's maturity.

When he composed *Beyond the Horizon* he took the step towards a new dramatic form that was to allow him the study of his figures at various moments of their career. He frequently returned to its time plan, the outcome of the fact that his characters lost their stability, and became ever changing entities that could only be comprehended by being observed at various periods of their development. Quite a series of conflicts springs from the error of a minute in this play. Robert Mayo chooses the wrong kind of wife and the wrong kind of life for himself. A born dreamer and wanderer he becomes a peasant, and soon proves unable to keep his farm going. All this happens because he loves Ruth, a girl that is of the dreaming kind also, and therefore cannot compensate his failings. They are ill-matched because they are too similar. Had Ruth married Robert's brother Andrew, also an admirer of hers, things would probably have gone well with the three of them. The consequences of their error are developed in acts 2 and 3, which take place 3 and 8 years later. Although the ill-matched couple are full of good-will, and struggle bravely, they cannot escape a cruel process of mental and physical deterioration. They begin to scold and to quarrel; Ruth comes to despise and hate her husband for his inefficiency, and she keeps hankering after Andrew, who was also started on a wrong course of life after she made her choice. Robert also loses his love for his wife and his work, but he drudges on conscientiously. His unhappiness saps his vitality; he becomes a victim of tuberculosis. This is not the only effect of the spiritual on the physical. The faces of Ruth and Robert undergo fearful changes and mirror their plight most impressively. O'Neill has stressed this relation between mind and body in many of his later plays, in none more strikingly than in *Mourning Becomes Electra*.<sup>7</sup> The central motives of the play, the clash between milieu and man, between man and woman that do not fit together, are the source of drama in other plays as well. Eileen in *The Straw* gets no comfort from her brutal father and her worthless fiancé in her sickness. She falls in love with a fellow-patient in the sanatorium, the journalist Stephen Murray. While she is dreaming of her love he is merely kind to her. He uses her as his secretary, and is dreaming of his professional future and of literary fame. We have already discussed the strange end that O'Neill has tacked on to this story. It spoils the proportion of the play. We find this fault frequently enough in the biographical plays, i.e. in the plays containing various important phases of a person's life. Also *All God's Chillun Got Wings* and "*Marco Millions*" are singularly ill-constructed. Both are at the same time good examples of O'Neill's further use of the motive of the ill-matched

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also *The Straw*, "*Marco Millions*", *Strange Interlude* and *Dynamo*.

couple. The first of them deals with the psychological consequences of a mixed marriage, the second contains a most cruel scene, in which Marco, the prosaic admirer of money and success, takes the beautiful princess Kukachin on his ship to Persia without noticing, without even having the faculty of noticing, that she loves him and hovers on the brink of insanity because he so utterly fails to respond.

But the exterior disproportions we have discussed so far did not remain the chief interest of O'Neill. He was more and more fascinated by the drama going on within a single soul, if this old-fashioned word can still be used in connection with his modernistic psychological studies. He accepted the view according to which the mind is a complicated mechanism whose nature, not discernible as long as it is functioning normally, is disclosed if a crisis comes on or if a mal-formation has taken place. A striking example of what he set out to do is *The Emperor Jones*, performed by the Provincetown Players in November 1920. The powerfully built and energetic negro Jones is shown in the crisis that ends his profitable tyranny over the primitive and superstitious negro population on an island in the West Indies and also his life. The play begins when his exploited subjects rebel against him, and declare their intention to kill him by beating the tomtom in the fashion of their African ancestors. Jones believes that he can easily escape across the sea, and starts on his way through the wood to the coast. Night overtakes him. Under the influence of excitement, physical exertion and the threatening sound of the tomtom he loses his head. The veneer of half-civilization falls from him; he becomes a frightened primitive creature again that runs towards its doom instead of away from it. O'Neill uncovers the negro's subconscious being layer by layer so to speak. In doing this he employs the methods of expressionistic staging to which he has frequently returned.<sup>8</sup> The illusions of the fugitive become real on the stage, and appear in a series of short scenes. They do not only spring from his own past existence but also from a racial memory of the sort postulated by C. G. Jung. At first the negro, and with him the spectator, sees the two murders that have forced him to leave the United States. Then he lives once more through the sale of his own person on a slave market. There is a vision of a herd of negroes packed together on the ship that takes them from Africa to America, and another one of a witch-doctor intending to sacrifice Jones to a crocodile deity in the African forest. Jones' terror and exhaustion increase from scene to scene until he becomes an easy victim of his enemies. O'Neill has solved the difficult problem of splitting up the mind of a half-civilized creature in a series of truly dramatic scenes. At the same time he has successfully avoided the danger of giving merely an interesting case-study. The figure and fate of Jones have a symbolic value. Jones stands for the black peoples that barter away their traditions and their style of life for the technical side of the white man's civilization. Besides he represents a psychological type: the

<sup>8</sup> e.g. in "*The Hairy Ape*" and in *All God's Chillun Got Wings*.

person that suppresses and betrays vital elements of his being for the sake of success, and is destroyed in the end by the revolt of what he has suppressed.

*The Emperor Jones* is almost a mono-drama. In the longer works that followed it O'Neill attempted to combine the two chief motives we have noticed so far. He showed the conflicts between an individual and his surroundings as well as those occurring within the individual soul, and he studied the interaction of the two. Several of these plays are no more than dramatized case-histories without the symbolic value of great drama. This is the impression we get from the reading of *Diff'rent*, a play in which a Puritan maiden fails to marry because she hears immediately before her wedding that her fiancé does not come up to her ideal of absolute sexual purity. The second part of the play contains a gruesome picture of her fate as an old maid doting on a worthless young fellow by whom she is fooled and dishonoured.

The most ambitious play of this sort is *Strange Interlude*, a veritable psycho-analytical *Odyssey*. It cannot be said that the transmutation of a theory into a work of art has been quite successful in the case of this nine-act play that shows the emotional life of a woman loving six men: her father, her youthful fiancé, her fatherly friend, her husband, her lover, and her son. The story of Nina Leeds reveals the fact that the psycho-analytical interpretation of a person's behaviour makes her a poor centre of a drama. It deprives her of her personality, and turns her into a rather formidable automaton the intricacy of whose reactions is interesting until their monotony becomes apparent. All the artistry of O'Neill cannot hide the faults inherent in the plan of this play. The most striking technical innovation in *Strange Interlude* is the development of the old "aside" into an instrument that permits the dramatist to show a person's real thoughts and his social mask side by side. The price he has to pay for this advantage is a rather dangerous slowing down of the speed of his scenes. The same device was used in *Dynamo*, a study of the religious perversion of a Puritan parson's son. O'Neill rejected it, however, when he composed his trilogy *Mourning Becomes Electra*. This drama, in which a patrician family of New England introverts suffers the fate of the descendants of Atreus, not because it is under the curse of the Gods, but because of its peculiar late Puritan psychological disposition, has much more power over our feelings than *Strange Interlude*. The psycho-analytical dissolution of the characters is less complete than in the case of Nina Leeds; they do not so much give the impression of being puppets going through movements dictated by a complicated machinery of inhibitions, fixations, compensations, etc. It is the definite historical setting that lends them reality and also the spectator's recollection of their Greek prototypes. I do not think that it is an accident that so many modern dramatists attempt to write new versions of the great plays of antiquity. Their psycho-analytical methods do not permit them to create new dramatic characters, but they are capable of explaining in an interesting way characters created by somebody else and enjoying eternal

life in the consciousness of mankind. This said we can only admire the consummate skill with which O'Neill treats one of the great themes of American literature: the tragedy of the Puritans who have kept an austere and exacting method of life after having lost the religious faith from which that method sprang. The minds of the Mannon family are perverted by the poisons bred by this very situation. They are impelled by their violent sympathies and antipathies to deeds of horror. Christine Mannon betrays and murders her husband; their children revenge their father, and suffer the consequences of their deed. In doing this they pass through a series of painful mental and physical changes that bring death to Orin, the son, and tearless solitude to Lavinia, the daughter. No ray of light enters the darkness of this tragedy. Its effect is one of unrelieved terror.

It is not astonishing that O'Neill's psychological interest led him on to the phenomenon of the split personality. He has evolved methods of making split personalities capable of dramatic representation. He used one of them in *The Great God Brown*, one of his most difficult and most revealing plays. It is full of criticism of modern American life, a trait which connects it with "*Marco Millions*". Dion Anthony cannot and does not want to adjust himself to the standards of the successful business men, a feat performed without difficulty by his commonplace friend William A. Brown. Dion is a sensitive artist, a dreamer, in love with life or with God — he does not exactly know which. But he meets the world in the mask of a sneering contemptuous cynic, who takes pleasure in tormenting harmless souls like his wife Margaret and Brown, the successful one, who becomes his employer as well as his friend. The actor who plays the part needs a real mask which he can put on and take off, or rather several masks, because his mask ages and changes its expression as his face does. When Dion, after his wild life, dies of heart failure he leaves his mask to Brown, who becomes a double personality in consequence of that dangerous gift. The enmity between the Brown-part and the Dion-Part in him grows; the mask of Dion sucks Brown's life-blood, and becomes more real and alive than he is himself, until Brown, in an incredibly daring and grotesque scene, accuses himself of having killed Dion and dies himself hit by a policeman's bullet, tormented by Dion's desire to pray and blaspheme in turns. The author of this play is suffering from the lack of coherence in modern life, from the disparity between its technical efficiency and its spiritual sterility. As is his wont he expresses his problem in psychological terms. Brown, the successful one, is a spiritual cripple, cut off from the creative life, from love, and from God, and he does not even know it before he becomes Dion's heir. Dion is different, tormented by the desire for another life, but as he must live in the world as it is, his personality is split up.

Not only Dion but all the main figures of the play wear masks at one time or another. The masks have various functions: in harmless cases they simply show different sides of a personality, but they may also make visible his fundamental inner disharmony, even his total disruption. They may protect the wearer, but they can also become an enemy that preys upon him.

In the earlier scenes they are used with striking success; later on their use becomes so complicated as to be hardly intelligible if witnessed by an unprepared spectator on the stage.<sup>9</sup>

In his last play, *Days without End*, O'Neill has once more treated the story of a split personality. It is simpler than the one discussed above. Its hero, John Loving, appears all through the play as a double figure. John is always accompanied by Loving, whose part must be taken by a second actor of the same stature, wearing the same kind of clothes and a mask. John Loving has lost both his parents in his youth in the course of an epidemic. The shock has cost him his religious faith. This is the cause of the disruption of his personality. The relation of the John-part to the Loving-part closely resembles the relation between the two souls in Dion Anthony's breast. John is seeking a way back to God and to love, but he is constantly opposed by Loving, a cold sneering demon, an advocate of nihilism and death. The predominance of Loving comes to an end when John Loving marries Elsa, a woman who has suffered no less than he has. For both husband and wife their love is the only positive experience justifying existence in this world. Consequently the Loving-part plots to destroy their union, and succeeds in inducing John Loving to commit adultery. Once this has happened, Loving is again in the ascendant. Elsa senses that he wishes her death, and, in her desperation, gives up her resistance against a casual illness. When she is on the point of dying from pneumonia John finds the way to church and is able to overcome Loving definitely at the foot of the crucifix. The whole is called a modern miracle play. The personification of the good and the evil propensities of the soul remind us of the allegorical methods of the mediaeval and the Puritan moralists. O'Neill has used this primitive method to reveal the struggle in a modern soul in a striking manner. John and Loving always appear together; one or the other can take the lead in a conversation or merely throw in a remark now and then. They can also address one another, of course. In this way we get an amazingly vivid picture of the struggle between the two tendencies in John Loving as well as of their effects on and reactions to other people's words and actions. A final verdict on the success of this method can only be given after the play has been seen on the stage.

In spite of the catholic spirit of *Days without End* O'Neill remains for us the restless seeker, the man of many creeds and many forms. His great dramatic power appears in the skill with which he develops drama out of themes that are hardly promising in themselves. His intense interest in psycho-analysis is not an asset in a dramatist. Some of his plays remain interesting case studies. The more completely he analyses his figures for us the less is there of the mystery of life in them. But O'Neill undertook the task of interpreting his figures in the terms in which many of his contemporaries interpreted their own reactions and conflicts. It cannot be

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<sup>9</sup> In *Lazarus Laughed* O'Neill has found an entirely different employment for masks. Here they have their traditional function of characterizing various types of people.

said that this interpretation always sprang from his immediate experience. Often he was fascinated by a theory. This, I think, is the reason why his plays — except perhaps *The Emperor Jones* and *Desire under the Elms* — remain admirable experiments. We respond to them intellectually and with part of our emotions, but there is not that complete and unreserved response exacted by the masterpieces of dramatic art. Even so, he has drawn unforgettable pictures of modern man, haunted by many clashing beliefs, superstitions and longings, often his own worst enemy, entirely unable to save himself.

Basel.

RUDOLF STAMM.

## Reviews

*Altenglisches Lesebuch (Prosa)*. Von JOSEPH RATH. viii + 164 pp. München: Max Hueber. 1940.

*Old English Reader*. By G. VAN LANGENHOVE. Part the First: Texts. xii + 318 pp. Brugge: „De Tempel”. 1942.

*An Old English Reader*. Edited by OTTO FUNKE and KARL JOST. (Bibliotheca Anglicana, Vol. 1.) 58 pp. — *Glossary* to ‘An Old English Reader’ edited by OTTO FUNKE and KARL JOST. (Bibliotheca Anglicana, Vol. 1a.) 59-86 pp. Bern: A. Francke A.G. 1942.

*Manuel de l'Anglais du Moyen Age des Origines au XIVe Siècle*. Par FERNAND MOSSÉ. (Bibliothèque de Philologie Germanique publiée sous la direction de A. JOLIVET et F. MOSSÉ. VIII.) I. *Vieil-Anglais*. Tome Premier: Grammaire et Textes. 345 pp. Tome Second: Notes et Glossaire. 347-548 pp. Paris: Aubier. 1945.

*Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*. Tenth Edition. Revised throughout by C. T. ONIONS. viii + 312 pp. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1946.

Of these five Old English Readers from as many European countries, all of them published during the war or shortly after, Mossé's is the only one that includes a Grammar, Van Langenhove's the only one that contains neither Glossary nor explanatory Notes. The latter's death in 1943<sup>1</sup> prevented him from supplying this deficiency, which is the more to

<sup>1</sup> He succeeded the late Henry Logeman as Professor of English Philology in the University of Ghent.

be regretted as many of his selections require a good deal of elucidation. The booklet, printed on small-sized India paper, opens with specimens of pre-Alfredian English, followed by Sievers's transcription of King Alfred's Preface to his version of the *Cura Pastoralis*. Orosius and Bede are represented by generous extracts, accompanied by their Latin originals; of the Boethius, only the Proem and Alfred's Prayer are given. Next come parts of the Gospel according to St. John, the Corpus and Hatton texts faced by those from the Lindisfarne and Rushworth mss. Laws, charms, and pieces of a similar character (including two fragments from the Brussels *Pœnitentiale*) account for more than forty pages. Ælfric is represented by The Assumption of St. John the Apostle and the Life of King Oswald, both of them taken from Sweet's *Reader*, Napier's Wulfstan by *De Falsis Deis* and the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*. After two pages from Kluge's edition of *Indicia Monasterialia* we get three extracts from the Saxon Chronicle; the remainder, another 125 pages, is taken up by poetical texts, including nearly 850 lines from *Beowulf*, and by two prose fragments from the *Beowulf* ms. Altogether this is a valuable and in some respects unconventional collection; few students, however, will be able to derive full benefit from it without expert assistance.

Joseph Raith, in his *Altenglisches Lesebuch*, has confined himself to prose. Beside Van Langenhove's, his selection looks merely conventional; Alfred, Ælfric, Wulfstan and the Gospels divide about sixty large-sized pages of text among them, with three pages in small type from the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels and the Vespasian Psalter in an Appendix. In his Preface the Editor asks to be excused for not including the Chronicle and Boethius. Each extract or group of extracts is preceded by a short introduction; but the chief value of the book consists in the Notes, which take up more than 90 pages in all, and which make this a very useful manual for private study — if it can be obtained. There is no Glossary.

Funke and Jost's *Old English Reader* has a Glossary, but no explanatory Notes. Like Van Langenhove's, though on a more modest scale, it is primarily meant for an academic class-book, and as such deserves to be more widely known. It begins with a series of easy late West-Saxon texts, followed by specimens of O.E. Prose and Poetry. The prose sections contain extracts from Orosius, Boethius, the O.E. Martyrology, Gregory's Dialogues, Bede, the Chronicles (Cynewulf and Cyneheard) and Ælfric's Lives of Saints; the poetry section is confined to *Genesis A*, *Elene* and *Judith*. As in Raith's *Reader*, the Latin originals have been added to the O.E. translations, as well as a selection of variant readings to the more difficult texts.

It was its failure to supply any Latin originals that chiefly differentiated Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader* from its continental counterparts. In the tenth edition Dr. Onions has reproduced the Latin text for the six Mercian hymns to which he has reduced Sweet's thirteen; but otherwise the exclusion of Latin has been maintained. The old piece III from the Pastoral Care has given place to some fresh extracts from Boethius, and a new piece from

Bede has been added. The poetry section has been enlarged by the addition of the epilogue to Cynewulf's *Elene*; the dialectal section by the extension of the passage from the Lindisfarne Gospels and by the addition of a Suffolk charter. All these changes are undoubtedly improvements, and will strengthen the book's position as a classic among Old English Readers, the more so as Notes and Glossary have also been revised and brought up to date. A somewhat revolutionary, but on the whole probably sensible measure is the discarding of the Grammatical Introduction; it is a pity, however, that the chapter on Metre has gone with it. Would it not have been better to introduce the poetic extracts by a section on Metre and Rhythm, with some reference to Heusler as well as to Sievers?

Last, but by no means least, Mossé's *Manuel*. The *Grammaire* is a model of clarity and precision and probably the best introduction to the study of Old English now available. It is the work of one who is thoroughly at home, not only in the Anglo-Saxon and Old Germanic fields, but in those of general linguistics and its concomitant disciplines as well. Compared with the Old English Grammar most widely used in this country, Wright's digest of the results of German scholarship, it offers several advantages: 1. a select but sufficiently full bibliography, divided into Reference Works, Grammar, Syntax, Dictionaries, Etymology, Literary History, History, Metrics, Collections of Texts, Translations (though we should hardly call Gordon's translation of Anglo-Saxon Poetry 'soignée'!), and Periodicals; 2. a treatment of sounds and spellings in accordance with modern ideas, and without recourse to such terminological antiquities as 'guttural umlaut' and 'breaking'; 3. the restriction of historical apparatus to what is immediately relevant to the study of Old English as such — or but little more; 4. a good *exposé* of Old English syntax, for which alone this book would be worth having (only five years previously Raith had complained: "eine altengl. Syntax gibt es auch: die wird aber geflissentlich totgeschwiegen"); 5. a section on poetic diction, and one on metre and rhythm.

So much premised, we may perhaps indulge in a few observations. — § 9. Are *nōht* and *nāht*, *heht* and *hēt*, merely variant spellings ('graphies'), in the same way as *wunode* and *wunade*, *cyning* and *kyning*? — In § 12 *ea*, *ie*, *eo* are distinguished as 'digrammes' from the 'diphthongues' *ēa*, *īe*, *ēo*. In accented syllables *ea* is said to represent [æ], as in *ēaelf*; in unaccented syllables [a], as in *tæcēan*. Before *l* and *r* + consonant and before *h*, *ea* also denotes the sound [æ]: *earm*, etc. Similarly in regard to *ie*, which represents either [e] or [i], and to *eo*, which represents [e]. "Autrement dit, le premier élément vocalique après une consonne palatale et le second devant une consonne vélaire sont des signes diacritiques destinés à indiquer la prononciation palatale, vélaire ou arrondie de la consonne." This peculiarity is ascribed to the orthographical habits of the Irish, who taught the English the use of the Latin alphabet. However, "Ces éléments ont pu aussi avoir la valeur d'une voyelle furtive et instable de transition (appelée, suivant le terme anglais, un 'glide') qui ne s'est pas maintenue dans la prononciation." There is, indeed, nothing contradictory in this alternative. What may be slightly puzzling to a beginner is that in § 22 *l* or *r* + cons., and *h* are said to have "déterminé la naissance d'une voyelle furtive ou 'glide'." with the alternative explanation as 'signe diacritique' given only in the second place; and even more so, that in § 23, on the influence of palatal consonants, we only hear of the development of a glide. — On pp. 40, 53 and 66 we

come across a relic from the 19th-century philological arsenal, viz. the 'allongement compensatoire', *alias* 'Ersatzdehnung'. In 1917 Van der Gaaf published a note on the subject in *The Student's Monthly* (Amsterdam). As this is not easily accessible, we will quote the central paragraph: "All these renderings as well as the German 'Ersatzdehnung' suggest the idea of something being given in exchange for and to make up for something else that has been taken away, or been lost. Now the giving of a substitute, the rendering of an equivalent is a voluntary, and generally a premeditated act, and it seems rather strange to apply a verb, noun, adjective or phrase indicative of such an act to a phonetic process, which like every other sound change must have taken place slowly and gradually, one stage of development passing imperceptibly (and unconsciously on the part of those who spoke the language) into another." Van der Gaaf proceeds to show that the lengthening that takes place when *an* becomes *ā*, *on* > *ō*, etc., is the result of assimilation, and, therefore, proposes to speak of *assimilative lengthening*, which has the advantage of describing the process in terms of phonetics rather than of equity. — §38.3, last par.: "Le vieil-anglais est déjà trop évolué pour qu'on puisse, sans faire intervenir des notions de grammaire comparée qui n'ont pas leur place ici, apercevoir la structure morphologique du mot." We agree; but when the author continues: "mais il est utile de conserver un classement historique des thèmes nominaux et verbaux", we can imagine an intelligent student asking the reason why. Sweet's challenge<sup>2</sup> that "to call the Old-English nouns *hūs* an *a-* or *o-* (why not *e-*?) stem, *cynn* a *jo-*, *menigo* an *i-* or *in-*stem, on the ground that in some other language the corresponding words ended in *-o*, &c., is, from an Old-English point of view, sheer nonsense" is not met by an appeal to convenience. Nor is it easy to see why *child*, Pl *childru*, should be called a "thème ... en *-az-*" (§43.2) in a book where notions of comparative grammar have no place. — "Le futur s'exprime le plus souvent à l'aide du présent" (§93; cf. §170.1) seems to confuse the notions of time and tense. Equally inexact though for another reason, seems the wording of: "De son côté le prétérit exprime le parfait et le plus-que-parfait" (§170.2), instead of something like: "... correspond souvent au p, et au p.q.p. en latin ou en anglais moderne." Similarly in §168.3: "Comme complément l'infinifif actif exprime l'infinifif passif"; "le vocatif est exprimé par le nominatif" (§154). In §196.3, on the place of the genitive, no mention is made of what Ekwall calls the "split genitive" (*Ælfredes sunu cyninges*).

Like Funke and Jost, Mossé begins his Reader with a number of easy normalized prose texts, based, in his case, on the West-Saxon Gospels and on Ælfric's Colloquy. They are, of course, accompanied by their Latin originals. The Chronicle, the Preface to the Pastoral Care, Ohthere and Wulfstan, the Laws, and Bede represent the time and cultural activities of Alfred; Ælfric, Wulfstan and the Peterborough Chronicle the classical form, and the decline, of Old English prose. In the section devoted to Poetry two Charms precede four fairly long extracts from *Beowulf*, followed by *Deor*, the *Wanderer*, *Wulf and Odoacer*, the *Ruin*, and two Riddles. Then come extracts from *Genesis B*, *Judith*, the *Dream of the Rood*, the first and third parts of *Crist* (which Mossé apparently takes to be by Cynewulf, as well as the signed second part), and the whole of the *Battle of Maldon*. Ten pages of dialect texts conclude the first volume. The second contains copious Notes and a Glossary, which the student will rarely consult in vain. We will not take up space with details of interpretation or comment, except to remark in passing that 'suivi' on p. 384, 154, should be 'précédé', and to draw attention to such features as the analysis of the style of Wulfstan on p. 388, maps such as that of the Battle of Maldon on p. 422, and the

<sup>2</sup> Now silenced by the suppression of his Preface to the Seventh Edition of his *Reader*.

runic alphabet on p. 430. There is also a reproduction of a page from the ms. of the Pastoral Care, and another of a page from the *Beowulf* ms. It might facilitate the use of the *Manuel* outside France if in future editions the English titles of the various selections were given alongside with the French ones (*L'Errant* — *The Wanderer*, etc.)

Groningen.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

*Sire Gauvain et le Chevalier Vert.* Traduction avec le texte en regard, par E. PONS. (Bibl. de Phil Germanique, IX.) 266 pp. Paris: Aubier. 1946.

This new edition of the finest of Middle English Romances consists of an introduction, the text with a line for line French prose translation opposite, a very full bibliography and an index of proper names. The introduction is mainly literary, though part of it is indeed devoted to the Scandinavian and Romance elements in the vocabulary. An interesting point is made by the editor in connection with the hunting scenes. Mistakes in the use of certain expressions in them show that the author himself never took part in hunting, but mainly derived his knowledge of this pastime from books of the chase. Hence Professor Pons concludes that he probably was a clerk, attached to some noble house.

The greater part of the introduction is devoted to a discussion of the historical background of the story (with an illuminating hint as to the meaning of *capados*); its possible connection with the Order of the Garter, the possibility of discovering the identity of the author, and the locality in which he lived. Miss Serjeantson's opinion that Derbyshire is 'the least improbable area for the dialect of MS. S. Nero' is quoted (p. 54). It will be remembered that Gordon and Tolkien localized the dialect of the original as So. Lancashire.

The Arthurian themes on which the poem is founded, the beheading test and 'the fairy mistress' story, are fully discussed, as is also the symbolism. The fourth part of the introduction deals with the character of Gawaine and the personality of the poet.

The bibliography is very full and meets a real want, since G. & T.'s bibliography is far less complete.

The text is carefully edited and the French translation accurate and graceful. It will be a great help to the reader who wants to enjoy the poem purely for its literary and aesthetic interest. When the editor diverges from the interpretations of Morris, or from those of Gordon and Tolkien (as in lines 639, 663, 1341 (!) and 2002 (where I think he is wrong in following Andrew) or 2422) he is careful to say so in a note. In other places, too, notes help to elucidate the many knotty points in this very difficult poem (1355).

The edition cannot replace the one by G. & T., with its glossary and full grammatical, phonological, dialectal, and critical apparatus, but certainly helps to clear up a few dark places, especially connected with hunting and dress. On the other hand it is a valuable help to the literary student, to whom the language of this very fine but most difficult poem otherwise presents almost insurmountable barriers.

Leiden.

A. A. PRINS.

*A Handbook of English Grammar.* By R. W. ZANDVOORT.  
J. B. Wolters' Uitgevers-Maatschappij N.V., Groningen-Batavia,  
1945. (2nd ed., 1946.) Price, sewn Fl. 8,90, cloth Fl. 9,50.

Professor Zandvoort has achieved the remarkable feat of squeezing a quart into a pint pot. Within the compass of a modest 330 pages he has managed to give an exposition, necessarily concise, but reasonably complete and always admirably lucid, of the verb and the constructions it gives rise to, the noun, the articles, the pronouns, sentence-structure, order of words, concord and word-formation. The book addresses itself primarily to Dutch students of English. For this reason all the examples quoted are translated — and very well translated — into Dutch, and the author throughout compares the two languages, thereby often shedding a welcome light on both.

First a word as to the method followed. The author illustrates his descriptions of the various syntactic phenomena by isolated sentences, some of them admittedly of his own manufacture. The most captious critic will have no fault to find with their quality. Prof. Zandvoort has, of course, a perfect command of English and his examples have, one and all, an authentic native ring. In this respect his book compares favourably with many other English grammars (not only those written by foreigners), where the examples quoted in support of the 'rules' are occasionally in an English that was never heard by land or sea. But basing a grammar on isolated sentences is a procedure that is open to grave objections. The theoretical aspects of the problem concern our ultimate conceptions of linguistics, the nature of grammar, and pedagogic expediency, which can hardly be discussed here. They have, for the rest, been frequently commented upon by philosophers of language and linguistic psychologists, so that I shall confine myself to pointing out some of the more obvious practical drawbacks.

The syntactic phenomena in the sentence are often dependent on factors outside it, they often cannot be adequately discussed or even noticed without a knowledge of the situation in which the sentence was used. Thus it is impossible by means of detached examples, whether genuine quotations or not, to explain the use and the non-use of the progressive, the spheres of delimitation of the narrative preterite and the perfect, the difference between *it is*

not easy to write about it, to write about it is not easy, and writing about it is not easy, the distinction between *can* and *may* to denote possibility, the many peculiarities to be found in what may be called 'veiled indirect style', such as the use of the preterite and of 'present tense adverbs' like *now, here, ago*, where logically one would expect the pluperfect and *then, there, before*, etc. etc. It may be objected to this view that most of the author's sentences are such that they immediately suggest an appropriate situation, and so they do. But only to those who know their grammar and their English, and therefore have no need of this book or any other. Thus a student may be able to imagine a situation in which one would say *We might ask him to be chairman* (§ 119), but then again the chances are that he connects it in his mind with a situation which requires *We could ask him to be chairman*. The difference between subjective and objective possibility can hardly be made clear by isolated sentences. Prof. Zandvoort, incidentally occasionally gives authentic quotations in an adequate context: it is not fortuitous that they should all be far more illuminating than the detached examples. A concomitant danger of the method is, of course, that it is apt to degenerate into an exposition of 'rules' existing *a priori* in the author's mind and an overlooking of everything else, with as results serious incompleteness and a factitious over-simplification. The great practical advantage of basing a grammar on a series of well-chosen, authentic, undoctored and connected texts, is that it shows us that many of our preconceived ideas will not stand the acid test of reality (it is, of course, easy enough to choose examples that tally with our *a priori* ideas), that there are many syntactic phenomena that have never yet been signalized, let alone explained, and that in reality things are far more complicated than we dreamt of in our grammatical philosophy. This method also raises grammar — belatedly — to the same status as other inductive sciences, which all start from reality and try to arrange their phenomena into significant patterns, but do not start with *a posteriori* codifications and then try to find illustrations or support for them in reality. Much more might be said about the subject, such as the impossibility of separating syntax and style, the danger that the less intelligent type of student will learn the short and 'easy' examples by heart, thinking this will absolve him from the task of learning his grammar from constant study of texts, etc., but my objections to Prof. Zandvoort's method can be conveniently summarized by stating that it puts the cart before the horse.

After the manner, the matter. The author deliberately and unhesitatingly ranges himself among those scholars who hold that the concepts, and hence to a certain extent also the terminology, of the classical and classicizing systems of grammar can still profitably be applied to a language like English, albeit with some slight modifications of the ideas and reinterpretations of the terms. The present reviewer is unfortunate in belonging to the opposite school. In his opinion these notions veil most characteristic features of English, misinterpret others, and generally befog the issue.

Prof. Zandvoort, I am gratified to note, starts with a catalogue of the available forms. This is as it should be. Our views begin to diverge when he starts distributing these forms among the various functions. Thus we are told in § 2 that the verb stem is used as an infinitive. Can English really be said to have such a grammatical category? The question, of course, hinges on our interpretation of the term. In the absence of any definition to the contrary by Prof. Zandvoort, the learner will, no doubt, take the word to have its usual meaning: a non-finite verbal form, denoting the verbal idea in its most general aspect. Now it may readily be admitted that *dance* and *to dance* are verbal forms. We gladly waive the point that the former is not a distinctive form, it being also used as an imperative, a present tense, a subjunctive, and a noun. But does the form denote the verbal idea in its most general aspect? When we ask a young girl what she likes best, she will answer: 'Dancing', not 'to dance'. And when we want to give the most general application to a statement, we do not use a verb stem, but a verbal ing: *saving is having, talking mends no holes, teaching is an ill-paid job*. The facts of English, then, would seem to lead to a startling but inevitable conclusion: if we *must* speak of an infinitive in English, it is ... the verbal ing. But must we? What is gained by the use of the notion except a certain familiarity of presentation? Does that outweigh the grave misrepresentation of the facts?

The hopeless inadequacy of the old classicizing grammar is nowhere shown more clearly than in its treatment of the verbal form in *-ing*. The classical languages, of course, have nothing even remotely resembling it, and it would seem that the most elementary justice to English compels us to look upon it as a distinct part of speech, peculiar to and highly characteristic of English. Prof. Zandvoort subjects it to the usual dichotomy, on the usual grounds and with the usual results. He calls it a gerund when it has affinity with a noun, and a present participle when it has affinity with an adjective (§ 44). Says the author, with an obvious reference to Kruisinga: "The distinction of gerund and present participle is the best method yet devised to classify the manifold uses of the verbal form in *-ing*, from *the rising generation* to *he bowed without rising*. Where the difference in function is so obvious, as in these and numerous other instances, mere identity in form does not justify us in lumping them all together as 'ings'. (§ 76).

I would in the first place observe that exactly the same reasoning can be applied to the noun stem and the verb stem with *to*. Both are used in functions that show affinity with the noun and with the adjective: *He disappeared round the corner* and *I live in a corner house; to see is to believe* and *he was the first to see it*. Yet this has never occasioned a grammarian to devise two different names for these forms, or to attempt a classification on the basis of such functional differences. Secondly, Kruisinga does not indiscriminately speak of verbal ings; if and when necessary he adds a tag to indicate their function. Thus he would call *rising* in *the rising generation* a verbal ing used as an attributive member of a noun group, and in *he bowed*

*without rising* a verbal ing used as prepositional adjunct to a verb. This is a classification in strict accordance with the facts. Nobody can deny its accuracy, and in the reviewer's opinion it is perfectly adequate to indicate their different functions. It incidentally enables Kruisinga to avoid the mistake of Prof. Zandvoort, when in § 44 he says that the fact of a verbal ing being preceded by a preposition shows its affinity to a noun. On the strength of this formulation he would have to speak of a gerund in: *I like to walk along running water*. Kruisinga, as a matter of fact, makes more distinctions than Prof. Zandvoort. Thus he distinguishes the verbal ing used as a subordinate member of a verb group (*I like swimming*) and as a dominant member (*he came staggering towards me*).

What are the facts? When we survey the whole range of the verbal ing, we can distinguish nominal, verbal and adjectival elements. It would be easy to arrange all its uses in a scale of, say, some twenty items. Beginning with the purely nominal uses (*the writings of Benjamin Franklin, the Chrysler building*), we might gradually diminish its nominal content till we arrive at the purely verbal uses, as in the progressive and the free adjuncts (*they were packing their trunks; strictly speaking, he is not even qualified*) and then, again by very gradual degrees, we might work down to the clearly adjectival uses (*the Flying Dutchman*). The intermediate stages would show various admixtures of nominal, verbal, and adjectival components. It would often be impossible to say which of the three dominates in any given case, and even if it were possible to find names for all these uses (our imagination boggles at the thought of the task), it would always entail an ignoring of the other element(s) in the admixture. The two names 'gerund' and 'present participle' do not even remotely do justice to all these functions. We should have to invent about a score of different names. And, as I pointed out before, we should have to apply the same process to the noun stem (which is used in quite as many functions as the verbal ing) and the verb stem with *to*.

The traditional treatment which Prof. Zandvoort applies to the verbal ing is also open to objections on its own merits. Thus in §§ 62 ff. and 68 ff., the verbal ings in free adjuncts and in the progressive are dubbed participles, as is usually done by the upholders of the system. But on what grounds? The criterion suggested by the author (its adjectival affinity) is obviously inapplicable here; there is nothing adjectival about the verbal ing in these cases. In *Not knowing what to do, she wrote to me for advice* (§ 62), the relation is clearly predicative: she did not know what to do. And so it is in *I am writing a letter*. The ing is here entirely verbal in meaning. *I am writing* is grammatically not on a par with *I am ill*. Besides, in both these examples the verbal ing has an object (-clause) for a complement, just as in *Entering a covert, she walked along a ride* (§ 63), which, according to the author, would be a sufficient ground for calling the verbal ing a gerund (§ 47). Although the verbal ings in these constructions are always traditionally called participles, the reviewer cannot recall ever having seen the semblance of an argument adduced in support of the contention. Can

it be due to a subconscious comparison with languages that demonstrably do use a participle in parallel constructions (he is dying = hij is stervend, er ist sterbend, il est mourant; weather permitting = ijs en weer dienende)?

If Prof. Zandvoort's treatment of the verbal ing has convinced the reviewer of anything, it is the utter impossibility of upholding the system for which he so gallantly breaks a lance.

The author repeatedly refers to words or expressions having a passive sense, he speaks of passive infinitives, and devotes a chapter to the passive voice. He defines the latter as a construction with *to be* + past participle, in which the idea of an action undergone by the subject of the sentence predominates. This generally accepted notion has a venerable ancestry; it can trace its origin back to Dionysios Thrax; it was taken over by the Roman grammarians and so found its way into modern grammar, where it still flourishes, although latterly an attack has been made upon its validity which, it is hoped, will ultimately lead to it being superseded by a truer notion. It is the task of the classical scholars to investigate whether it holds good for Latin and Greek (it will, incidentally, take some arguing to convince the present writer that when a Roman said *itur, curritur, vivitur ex raptō, acriter pugnatum est, ridebatur ab omnibus, negat Epicurus iucunde posse vivi, nisi cum virtute vivatur*, etc. he thought of anybody undergoing anything). But it certainly does not hold good for the modern analytic languages. It is, for instance, impossible to account in this way for the so-called impersonal passives. What undergoes anything, what can possibly be thought of as undergoing anything in: *es ist in Russland schwer gefochten, er wordt hier 's winters druk schaatsen gereden, er wordt tegenwoordig te veel geklaagd*, etc. I regret that Prof. Zandvoort should not have seen his way to adopt Kruisinga's illuminating and absolutely convincing suggestion that the so-called 'passive voice' does not denote passivity of the subject at all, but that it is a device to represent the verbal idea as an occurrence, even when the verb in itself denotes an activity or a state. Whatever a Roman may have felt when he said "*puer nobis nascitur*", it is obvious that when we say: "two years later a child was born to them" we are not concerned with the adventure into which the child was plunged by its birth, but with what happened in the family. And similarly, when we read in a newspaper: "Every day letters are received at this office, complaining that ..." etc., it is surely obvious that the writer is not anxious to interest his readers in the fate of some letters, but that he wants to describe what happens at his office. Passivity, as far as the present writer is aware, is a notional category that does not find syntactic expression in English, not even in cases like: *during the occupation we had German officers billeted upon us*, which rather expresses what the subject of the sentence experienced than what he passively underwent. The notion, of course, does find lexical expression: *My wife suffers from headaches*.

The chapter on auxiliaries is decidedly unsatisfactory. The author

defines them as 'verbs that help to form the predicate of the sentence' (§112). This would seem to be an attempt to justify a traditional technical term by giving it an *a posteriori* etymological content, as who should define hydrogen as 'stuff to produce water with'. The term 'auxiliary' owes its origin to the exigencies of translation from the synthetic into the modern analytic languages. The Renaissance scholars<sup>1</sup> who were the first to examine the structure of the contemporary living European idioms, noticed that in order to translate a Latin perfect like *fecit* they needed a verb group in their own language. The finite members of such groups helped to translate the Latin or Greek into the vernacular, and came therefore to be designated as auxiliaries. Later on the name was gradually extended to other verbs similarly used; the last to be added to the list, the auxiliaries of predication, were so named by Dr. Murray. The whole conception of auxiliaries seems to me of questionable utility, and I regret that Prof. Zandvoort should have given a new lease of life to it.

In the first place, there is no reason for restricting the discussion to the traditional *can, may, must*, etc. For there are other verbs that form groups with plain verb stems: *If he doesn't like it, he can go hang, I have heard tell of it, go to the scullery and help wash up, he made believe he was rich, let go of that rope.*

Secondly, why should the appellation be limited to those verbs that form groups with verb stems? The verbal *ing* and the (perfect) participle<sup>2</sup> also form groups with other verbs: *he went looking for the child, they stood watching the game, the ship came sailing into the harbour, it kept raining, she sat waiting for her husband, I have not yet finished dressing; your shoe has come undone, he got sent down from Oxford, in the course of the Middle Ages the practice became more and more acquiesced in.*

And thirdly, if *ought* and *used* are auxiliaries, what is to prevent us from speaking of auxiliaries in cases like *I want to go to bed now, I should like to help you, it seemed to happen in a twinkling.*

All these verbs help to form the predicate. If they are on that score to be incorporated into the system of auxiliaries, the usual classification into auxiliaries of tense, aspect, mood, etc. will have to be considerably extended and modified. If it is objected that in my examples the finite verbs are not all equally subordinated to the rest of the verbal predicate, I would beg to point out that the same applies to those verbs that are by common traditional consent auxiliaries (cf. *I've said so before with I'm not so young as I used to be*, in which latter example the auxiliary is actually phonetically and semantically dominant).

In discussing the English 'auxiliaries' the author starts from the Dutch. This, apart from reducing English grammar to a guide for Dutch translators,

<sup>1</sup> The first were Italians and Spaniards. It is not generally realized that some of them were very early. Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (not a grammar, of course), dates from 1304; Nebrija's *Gramatica de la Lengua Castellana* from 1492; Francesco Fortunio's *Regole grammaticali della volgar lingua* from 1516. The French and English did not enter the field until much later.

makes his treatment very incomplete. Thus he makes no mention of *can* to denote permission (*Can I go home now, sir?*), nor to express what has been termed the occasional manifestation of a trait in a person's character, otherwise latent (*My wife can be trying at times*), or possibility in affirmative sentences (*You can always plead that you've had no time*).

What can be said about the matter of 'auxiliaries' from a standpoint of autonomous English grammar, by which I mean the grammar that tries to find its criteria in English itself, independently of comparisons with other languages, or, as in this case, the exigencies of translation from the Latin or Greek? It cannot be discussed without having recourse to the theory of word-groups. This teaches us that four verbal forms, the plain stem, the stem with *to*, the *ing* and the (perfect) participle, form groups of varying closeness with certain other verbs. These latter cannot be exhaustively classified, but there is no reason to regret this, because the classification would not be structurally relevant. Five of them may be singled out because they show certain syntactic peculiarities not shared by the others, such as that they do not take a sibilant in the 3rd person present singular, are always grouped with a plain verb stem, and do not take *do* in negative and interrogative sentences. They are *can*, *may*, *must*, *shall*, and *will*. Among this group might be included *to do*, although it only shows one of these characteristics. If the name 'auxiliaries' is restricted to these verbs, there would seem to be no objection to its retention, in spite of its *vitium originis*. Kruisinga calls them 'formal verbs', a not very expressive name.

Prof. Zandvoort subscribes to another traditional interpretation which was originally probably suggested by a comparison with Latin, but which in the reviewer's opinion cannot be upheld in the face of the facts. He takes *that*, as used to open attributive clauses, to be a pronoun. If this were a matter of mere nomenclature, it would hardly be of any importance. If I comment upon it at all, it is because some interesting syntactic observations can be made in connection with the point.

The author is, of course, aware that objections have been raised against the interpretation of conjunctive *that* as a pronoun, in fact he mentions some of them himself. Yet it would seem that he does not realize the full weight of the case that has been made out against this view. A brief summary, therefore, may be welcome.

#### Conjunctive *that*:

1. unlike the undoubted relative pronouns *who*, *which*, and *what*, is not used as an independent relative.
2. unlike *who*, *which*, and *what*, cannot be made emphatic by means of pronouns in *-self*.
3. unlike *who*, *which*, and *what*, cannot be made indefinite by means of *-ever*.
4. unlike *who*, *which*, and *what*, does not form groups with prepositions
5. occurs in clauses with a personal as well as with a non-personal leading member ('antecedent') or with both. This is an argument to which

considerable weight must be attached. Anaphoric relatives always show some sort of concord with their antecedent; this, in fact, is one of the chief reasons<sup>2</sup> for calling them pronouns at all. It is in accordance with this that we find *who* referring to personal, *which* to non-personal antecedents. The absence of any such concord in the case of *that* is a very strong argument against its pronominal character, just as no competent linguist will call Malay *jang* a relative pronoun.

6. unlike the anaphoric relatives *who* and *which*, and the independent relative *what*, never has a function in the clause. This argument seems never to have been stated with sufficient clearness. As it may raise a dubious eyebrow, the reviewer trusts he will be pardoned for expatiating a little upon it.

A well-known music-hall song of our younger days was entitled *The Man That Broke The Bank At Monte Carlo*. The word *that* opening the attributive clause can obviously not be said to be its subject. For *that* as a subject is always a neuter noun pronoun. It could not possibly refer to a person<sup>3</sup>, only to an idea, say a system of playing, an inordinate run of luck, or something of the sort. Besides, as a subject the form of the word would be [ðæt]. Now the conjunctive form is invariably [ðət]. This is borne out by Sweet's matchless transcriptions (still far and away the best in the field), it is specifically mentioned by the N.E.D. s.v. *that*, and Prof. Zandvoort notes it himself, although both he and Dr. Murray fail to draw the inevitable conclusion. There are no English sentences with [ðət] for their subject, and those who in favour of the pronominal character of the word adduce the argument that conjunctive *that* may be a subject, object etc. in the clause, are simply talking about another word: the demonstrative pronoun.<sup>4</sup>

These arguments have been said to be not very impressive, because they are all negative. In answer to that I would beg to observe that negative arguments are also arguments, that none of them, as far as I am aware, have ever been refuted or explained away and that, on the other hand, nobody seems to be able to adduce one single argument, positive or negative, for the pronoun character of the word. Here again we are confronted with the seemingly unanswerable question: what makes people think the word is a pronoun? Is it the unconscious influence of related languages? Dutch *dat* and German *das* are, of course, undoubted pronouns. They show concord of number and gender with their antecedents, and the German word, besides, is declinable. Or is there such a thing as a feeling of linguistic propriety, which demands that adjective clauses should begin with

<sup>2</sup> The other is their declinability. This makes French *que* into a pronoun, in spite of its many points of resemblance with English *that*.

<sup>3</sup> The depreciatory use of *that* to refer to persons (*I wonder where she picked that up*) can be left out of account here, of course.

<sup>4</sup> It is perfectly true, and we have to thank Prof. Zandvoort for pointing it out, that *who* and *which* as anaphoric relatives have weaker stress than as interrogatives, but they retain their vowel and are substantially the same words.

relative pronouns, as in Latin, German, French, Dutch and all other well-conducted languages, and which refuses to entertain the idea that English should be different? The latter solution may be the correct one; it also accounts for the usual remarks about 'omission' of the 'relative pronoun'. I hasten to add that Prof. Zandvoort, of course, is not guilty of the latter sin.

There are many other points on which Prof. Zandvoort's opinions and the reviewer's differ irreconcilably. Thus I find it impossible to think of the perfect and the pluperfect as tenses. To my mind *I have received an invitation* is a present tense. It means 'I am in possession of an invitation as a result of a past activity of my host, the postman, etc.' And by the same token *I had received an invitation* is a preterite. The correctness of this interpretation is borne out by the forms. In all languages that have group perfects and pluperfects, the leading member of the group is invariably a present, respectively a preterite. Here again the rash transference of the terms current in classical grammar and the conceptions they stand for, finds its Nemesis; it bars the way to an intelligent understanding of the difference between the synthetic forms in Latin and Greek and the 'corresponding' constructions — which means the entirely different constructions we use to translate them — in the analytic languages. In English the perfect and pluperfect are modes of aspect, not tenses. The same applies to what the author traditionally terms 'present' and 'past' participles. They are not present or past. They have nothing to do with time or tense. Both are freely used with reference to a past, a present, and a future time. There is nothing 'present' in *He was watching some playing children* and nothing 'past' in *He is hated by everybody*. If Prof. Zandvoort's grammatical views entail the distinction of two participles, let it be imperfect and perfect ones, in accordance with their character of aspect-indicators. The classical opposition singular : plural (of nouns) presents another problem. Are 'singular' and 'plural' formal or notional categories? The question is of some importance, for in English, of course, the two do not coalesce, in fact they are frequently in flat contradiction with one another. In *Our piano wants tuning* the noun is a formal as well as a notional singular. In *Stravinsky treats the piano as a percussion instrument* the noun *piano* is a formal singular, but not a notional one, in so far that the sentence certainly does not refer to one piano. Furthermore there are noun stems that denote undoubted plurals (*cattle, police*) and formal plurals that denote notional singulars (*I live in a mews; a gallows will be erected*). And lastly, the unbiassed examination of English compels us to the conclusion that the classical opposition singular : plural is not exhaustive, that in English we must assume the existence of a third category, that of numerical indifference, or neutrality, which comprises a class of nouns that may be, without any formal indications, singular as well as plural. This group is found to comprise both formal singulars (*Swiss, sheep, deer, cod, salmon, trout, swine, etc.*), formal plurals (*alms, means, hustings, works, etc.*) and formal neutrals (*species, series*). Our conclusion must unalterably

be: the concepts of classical grammar cannot be applied to a language like English without a great loss to our appreciation of its structure.

It is time to proceed to a summing up. Those who looked to Prof. Zandvoort's book to continue what might be termed the independent school of syntactic research with which the name of Holland has been associated during the last decades, cannot but feel disappointed by the standpoint he takes. While deploring that the learned author should not have felt the need to give a fillip to our further emancipation from the classical thought-moulds and especially that in some respects he should not have seen fit to adopt certain newer views which I think definitely and fortunately established, I take great pleasure in saying that I have found much to appreciate and to admire in his book. Within the limits set by his fundamental standpoint, Prof. Zandvoort shows great acumen. He gives plenty of evidence of independent thought, close observation and keen insight within the conceptual framework he has been unwilling to transcend. There is hardly a page in his book that does not contain a shrewd, illuminating, and profoundly true remark, and my review copy bristles with marginal 'goods' and 'excellents' and 'exactlys'. I should like to mention especially in this connection the chapter on Modality. The author bases the existence of a subjunctive mood — convincingly to my mind — on the system of oppositions underlying structural linguistics. Welcome innovations are the incorporation of gender in the chapter on the anaphoric personal pronouns and the treatment of the articles in close connection with the nouns. The necessity of discarding in English grammar the term gender and all it implies needs no argumentation for those who understand the facts. In a language where the pronouns referring to a singular noun are dependent on the speaker's mood, there can be no question of gender in the usual sense of the word. And the treatment of the articles as nominal prefixes is, of course, in perfect accordance with their character. The inclusion of the definite article among the pronouns — surprisingly enough even found in Kruisinga — is a piece of antiquarian lore and is from a synchronistic point of view about as sensible as the inclusion of the indefinite articles among the numerals would be. It is details like these that show that Prof. Zandvoort is perfectly *au fait* of the latest trends of syntax. Very good are also § 194 on nicknames and familiar names of occupations in hypocoristic -s, §§ 195/200 on the form of attributive nouns, §§ 219/225 on the local genitive. A very suitable name! The whole chapter on the genitive is excellent.

Although I have had to reject some of the author's fundamental conceptions, I gratefully acknowledge that I have derived no inconsiderable mental profit from his book. In view of future editions some suggestions for trifling emendations may be welcome to the author. The numbers refer to the sections.

1 sub d. From a point of view of phonetic accuracy it is perhaps better to change 'dental suffix' into 'point-gum consonant'. English [d, t], in contradistinction to French, Italian and Spanish, are no dentals

11. change 'past tenses' into 'preterites' *Should* is never a past tense, *might* hardly ever.
13. sub a. For 'after' read 'in groups with'. The verb stem does not always follow the 'auxiliary' (Go she must. Catch as catch can. I got my work to do, and do it I will (Wells, *The New Machiavelli*, Penguin, p. 17. Similarly in 14.
14. last line. After *ought*, add *used, have (has, had), am (are, is, was, were)*.
- 16 (note). In the Dutch examples there is no question of purpose at all, rather an obligation or necessity.
34. Nominative with Infinitive is a suitable name for a construction like *I to herd with narrow foreheads!*, it is inadequate for *He was heard to come downstairs*. Why should it only be the subject and the verb stem that determine the name, and the predicative participle be ignored? The origin of the term is obvious. It is based on the abominable heresy that *He was heard to come downstairs* is the 'passive' variant for the 'active' *They heard him come downstairs*, and that it is 'made' from the latter by means of some juggling with its component parts. A suitable name is 'predicative participle (of occurrence) with verb stem'. This is quite a mouthful, but in accordance with the facts, and it does not tax the learner's memory, because it accurately describes the members in the order in which they occur in the construction.
52. Add: The solicitor proceeded to read the will and ... reading the will.
56. *obligatory* smacks of the old prescriptive grammar. Change into *always found*. Similarly in 96 change *has to be* into *is*.
62. The free adjuncts do not always contain verbal ings, as is duly pointed out in the note. Therefore transfer the whole discussion to the chapter on sentence-structure, where it belongs.
68. The progressive is not a form, in the sense that is usually attached to that term. It is better to call the group simply 'the progressive'.
70. *To hate* occurs in the progressive: I'm hating this house-party. (Noel Coward, *The Vortex*, 209). Violet Campion is hating me pretty badly (Ethel M. Dell, *The Keeper of the Door*, 196). In fact, it seems doubtful if there are verbs that can never, in any of their meanings, or under any circumstance, occur in the progressive, although some may do so very rarely.
102. For *referred to* read *thought of*. There are by no means always explicit indications. Thus the first sentence of A. A. Milne's play *The Boy Comes Home* begins with a question of the servant: 'Did you ring, sir?'
106. Why *instead*?
117. Why *replaced*? An interrogative sentence is not made from an affirmative one.
118. *Usually* explains nothing and is, besides, not true. Cf. man-traps, man-eaters, man-haters, man-ropes, man-apes, man-holes, man-hunters, man-killers, man-slayers. Make a distinction between appositional and other compounds.
215. *at the water's edge* belongs rather to 214.
217. 'Whose is this umbrella? — I think it's *father's*' is more naturally explained as an independent genitive. Genuine predicative genitives, that cannot be explained otherwise, are rare. An example is *She was Keith's*, in the sense of 'she felt she belonged only to Keith.' Of course, it is only the context that can prove this.
222. The difference between *at my uncle's* and *at my uncle's house* seems to me another. The former suggests that the uncle entertains the nephew or niece, the latter indicates place. The context makes it likely that the same interpretation applies to the quotation from J. M. Mackail's *Life of William Morris*. It is the place that is meant, not the host. The writer wants to point out that Morris had his lunch not far from the house in Queen Square he used to occupy.
241. What makes Prof. Zandvoort think that *the door of this house* 'takes the place of the unusual *this house's door*?' This latter construction is not unusual, it is non-existent. Why should one of the commonest English collocations take the place of something that does not exist? The whole notion that the genitive and the of-adjunct are competing constructions in modern English is a fallacy, induced by historical considerations. In living English the two are never interchangeable without causing a change in meaning or

style, and sometimes they cannot be substituted for one another at all (*for the life of me, A Life of William Morris, Fred's schoolmaster*).

259. This can hardly stand as it is. The phonetic transcriptions between brackets become automatically [ði:] when we read them aloud, because they are stressed and isolated. Besides it is not true. Think of *the yard, the will*, which begin with vowels. Change vowel sounds into syllabic sounds, other cases into non-syllabic so. *ds*.

277. Cook, nurse. Add the reason: their character approaches that of proper names, because they are so often used in a vocative function.

281. See the remarks on 259.

289, note. Another example might be a slight improvement, because *clergyman/men* does not show number forms.

295. The definition of the third person as 'the person(s) or thing(s) spoken of', will not do, as Jespersen has pointed out, because it would make *I am ill* into a sentence in the third person. It seems that the only possible definition is a negative one: not the speaker and not the person spoken to.

345. Not necessarily the subject of the sentence: *I won't have you perjure yourself to save my bacon* is a by no means unusual sentence-type.

355. Change *context* into *situation*. There is not always another verbal indication of the speaker's temper.

398. It is not *which* that is the nominal predicate of the clause, it is a *lawyer*.

408. Not only an object, also a nominal predicate (Your father is no longer the man he was) and an adverbial adjunct, prepositional or not (He went back the way he had come; the darkness we had emerged from).

497. This definition of the subject finds the psychological subject, not the grammatical, for a subject may not refer to a person or thing at all: It's five o'clock. The definition of the predicate will not hold water either. For one thing we can hardly make a statement about an idea that has no meaning (as in the example just quoted), and for another, when in answer to a question *Waarom ben je niet gaan schuilen in dat huisje langs de weg?* I say: *Dat huisje heb ik helemaal niet gezien*. I make a statement about *dat huisje*, which yet is not the grammatical subject.

There are decisive grammatical reasons for rejecting the interpretation that in *There was no wind* the subject is *no wind*. It is *There* that is the subject. Of course, not a 'starting-point subject', but a formal or empty subject. Proofs:

- a. its repetition in appended sentences: *There is a bathroom in the house, isn't there?*
- b. its place in interrogative sentences: *Is there any difficulty in this?*
- c. its place in sentences opening with a negative adverb-adjunct: *Nowhere was there any trace of Henry Jekyll, dead or alive.*
- d. its place and use in preposition groups with verb stem: *We should be sorry for there to be any more trouble on our account.*

This peculiar behaviour of *there* definitely rules out the possibility of it being a kind of adverb-adjunct and is only explicable on the supposition that it is a subject. If this clashes with our notions about the character of a subject, it is these notions that need revision.

510. In *my brother Charles, the Emperor Jones, the river Thames* the weaker stress on the class-nouns points in my opinion to their subordination to the proper name, so that we cannot speak of appositional groups here.

533. Would *Nu het karwei (goed en wel) klaar was ...* be a more acceptable translation?

535. Sub-clauses do not always contain a subject: It's not the place makes the happiness; what is it has given you that idea?; that was her shadow passed the window; I suppose there's a good deal of skating goes on here?; there's nothing annoys me more; he was a strong fellow with arms would kill an ox (Hugh Walpole).

571. The interpretation of *It is improbable that he will refuse* (and, we might add, of *There is a strong probability that he will refuse*) as containing subject clauses, must be rejected. The subject of these sentences is *it* and *there*. I can enter into Prof. Zandvoort's objections to calling these sub-clauses object clauses, although I have once broken a lance

for it. As it seems difficult to fit them into the existing system, what about inventing a new name and calling them complementary clauses? They serve as a complement to a word in the predicate of the headclause. An additional advantage of the scheme is that it does away with an inexplicable 'exception' to the 'rule' that subject-clauses in English always precede their head-clause (659).

Haarlem.

P. A. ERADES.

### Brief Mention

*American and British Pronunciation.* By EILERT EK WALL. (Essays and Studies on American Language and Literature, edited by S. B. Liljegren. II.) 36 pp. (Also in *Studia Neophilologica*, 1945—1946, p. 161-190). Upsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln. 1946.

In his Introduction Ekwall summarizes and comments on the views of various scholars, from Whitney (1867) to the present day, on the historical relation between educated American and educated British. He then discusses the more important differences between American and British pronunciation (Vowels in stressed syllables, Vowels in unstressed syllables, Consonants). In General Discussion and Conclusions he formulates the relation between American and British pronunciation as follows: "Educated American pronunciation on the whole remains at the stage which Standard British pronunciation had reached about the time of the Revolution, while modern British pronunciation has left that stage far behind." Again: "Standard American is the outcome of tendencies inherent in the early American language itself and a considerable influence from Standard English" all through the Colonial period. This, in substance, agrees with Whitney's view, though the latter had offered neither examples nor demonstration of his theory.

With regard to similarities that have been pointed out between American English and Northern British, Ekwall observes that present-day educated Northern British is in the main eighteenth-century London English.

From the time of the Revolution, American pronunciation has been on the whole independent of British; that is to say, it has changed far less. Ekwall does not offer an explanation of this arrested development; in his introductory survey he only remarks that Ellis's theory as regards the conservatism of emigrant languages is nowadays very popular.

It might be asked whether between the vowels in *pull* and *pool*, *naught* and *not*, there can only have been a quantitative difference (p. 17); and what is the difference, if any, between 'voiced [t]', in the American pronunciation of a word like *better*, and [d]. — Z.

### Books Received

*Anthologie de la Poésie anglaise.* Choix, traduction et commentaires par LOUIS CAZAMIAN. xxix + 359 pp. (1-350 double pages.) Paris: Editions Stock. 1946. 250 fr.

*Ballate Popolari d'Inghilterra e di Scozia.* Testo, Traduzione, Introduzione e Note a Cura di SERGIO BALDI. (Biblioteca Sansoniana Straniera 85). xlviii + 294 pp. Firenze: G. C. Sansoni. [n.d.] L. 200.—.

*The History and Principles of Vocabulary Control* as it affects the teaching of foreign languages in general and of English in particular. By H. BONGERS. Parts I and II, 360 pp.; Part III, 82 pp. Woerden: Wocopi. 1947. [Utrecht diss.]

# An Anglo-Saxon Prescription from the Lacnunga

Our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon medicine mainly depends on two collections of medical prescriptions, the Leechbook and the Lacnunga. The Leechbook is preserved in a manuscript of the British Museum, Regius 12 D XVII. It dates from the middle of the tenth century and was copied from an older Anglian source. It consists of three books, with a table of contents to each book, and it is arranged in fairly logical order. The name *Læceboc* occurs two or three times in the text. The Lacnunga is contained in a British Museum manuscript of the eleventh century, Harley 585, ff. 130-192. The same manuscript contains a copy of the *Herbarium Apulei* in an OE. translation. The collection of prescriptions was named Lacnunga by its first editor, the Rev. Oswald Cockayne, who edited it, together with the Leechbook, as vol. III of *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England* in 1866. The name Lacnunga does not occur in the text, and Cockayne only chose it to distinguish this collection from the Leechbook. *Lacnung* is used once or twice in OE. instead of the usual *Læcedom*, though its ordinary meaning is 'healing, cure'. The name Lacnunga was retained by its second editor, G. Leonhardi, *Kleinere angelsächsische Denkmäler I*, published in 1905 as vol. VI of Wülker's *Bibliothek der ags. Prosa*. Leonhardi amended a number of mistakes in the text of Cockayne, but his edition is inferior to Cockayne's because he omitted all the Anglo-Saxon charm texts. These form some of the chief attractions of the Lacnunga and are of greater importance for our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon customs and beliefs than most medical prescriptions. Moreover Cockayne gave a translation of the text and he added a critical study on *Saxon names of worts and trees from various sources* (*l.c.* III, pp. 311-350) that has not yet been superseded. Leonhardi promised to publish a vocabulary to the Leechbook and the Lacnunga, which never appeared. In 1927 J. H. G. Grattan wrote an article on "Three A.-S. charms from the Lacnunga"<sup>1</sup> in which he announced a new edition of the Lacnunga in collaboration with Dr. Charles Singer. But Singer died soon afterwards, and it looks as if Grattan has given up his plan.

Anglo-Saxon medicine is closely interwoven with magical ideas and repeatedly we meet with prescriptions that are on the border line between magic and medicine. Indeed it is practically impossible to distinguish between the two. The collector of the Lacnunga must have been specially on the look-out for material that differed from the classical tradition of medicine which had spread to England and which may be seen in the Leechbook. He put in everything that struck his fancy for some reason or other, and the entire collection is marked by the absence of order and logical arrangement. As a table of contents is lacking Cockayne tried to

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<sup>1</sup> *Modern Language Review* XXII, 1927, pp. 1-6.  
E. S. XXVIII. 1947.

bring about some order by numbering the various prescriptions, but his division is sometimes rather arbitrary and needs revising in a new edition. However, his numbering has the advantage for the moment of enabling us to indicate that particular part of the text we need. Under section 12 Cockayne put together two prescriptions for the preparation of salves, one against wens and another against broken bones. The second is a suitable example for pointing out the close contact that existed between magic and medicine.

As I do not think that many private libraries will contain an edition of the Lacnunga I shall give the text first as it occurs in Cockayne.

To godre bansealfe þe mæg wið heafod ece and wið ealra lyma tyddernysse sceal rude  
rædic and ampre uane feuerfuge æscðrote eforðrote cildenige bete, and betonican  
ribbe and reade hofe elene alexandrian moran clufðung and clate liðwyr and lambes  
cerse, hylwyr hælseal cwide wudrofe and wrættes cið, springwyr sperewyr weg-  
5 bræde and wermod ealhtran and hæferðan hegeclife and hymelan gearwan and  
geaces suran belenan and bradeleac nim ealra ðyssa wyrt efenfela do on mortere  
cnuca eall tosomne and do ðær to ifig croppas and nim æsc rinde and weliges twiga  
and acrinde and wirrinde and surre apoldrinde and seales rinde and wudubindan leaf  
þas ealle sculan beon genumene on neðoweardan and on easteweardan þan treowan  
10 scearfige ealle ðas rinda to gædere and wylle on halig wætere, oððæt hy wel  
hnexian, do þonne to þan wyrtum on mortere cnuca eall tosomne nim þonne heortes  
smera and hæferes smeras and eald morod and fearres smeru, and bares smeru and  
rammes smeru mylde mon ealle tosomne and geote to trindan somnige mon þonne  
ealle þa þan tosomne ðe man gegaderian mæge and cnoce man þa þan mid æxse yre  
15 and seoðe and fleote þæt smeru wyrce to trindan nime þonne ealde buteran and wylle  
þa wyrtas and þa rinda don eall to somne þonne hit beo æne awylled sette þonne  
sceafta þonne eall þæt smeras on pannan swa micel swa þu sealfest haban wille and  
þu getyrwan mæge sete ofer fyr læt socian næs to swiðe weallan oððæt hyo genoh  
sy seoh ðurh clað sete eft ofer fyr nim þonne nygon clufa garleaces gehalgodes  
20 cnuca on wine wring þurh clað scaf on myrran þa wyr and fant halig wex and  
brimne stor and hwitne rycels geot þonne innan ða sealfest swa micel þæt sy, III.  
ægscylla gewyrðe nim þonne ealde sapan and ealdes oxsan mearh and earnes mearh  
do þonne ða tyrwan ond mæng, þonne mid cwidebeamenum sticcan oð heo brun sy  
sing þonne þærofer benedictus, dominus deus meus and þone operne benedictus  
25 dominus deus israel and magnificat and credo in unum and þæt gebed matheus  
marcus lucas iohannes, sy þæt sar þær hit sy smite mon ða sealfest, ærest on þæt  
heafod.<sup>2</sup>

The number of herbs that go to the making of this good bone-salve is large enough to astonish us, though thirty-five is far from being the record. The ingredients of the holy salve (Lacnunga 29) consist among other things of fifty-seven plants. Another thing that the reader may already have noticed is the fact that the names are arranged in alliterative groups of two or three. This was probably done as a help in remembering the names, and I do not think that we can attach any magical significance to it. Latin and vernacular names are put side by side so that it looks as if the alliteration was only a mnemo-technical device. I might add that there is no question of alliteration in the technical sense of the word used in Anglo-Saxon poetry.

<sup>2</sup> The punctuation is that of the ms.

It seems moreover as if the copyist of the Lacnunga was not aware of the alliteration, for there are one or two exceptions that might have been set right by him, namely *uane-feuerfuge*, where the normal spelling *fane* would have restored the alliteration. The same applies to *ealhtran-hæferðan* (l. 5). The normal name of the second plant is *æferðe*, which, as Cockayne suggests, may be a contraction of *æðelferðingwyr*<sup>3</sup>. *Cwice* (l. 4) got into its present place in the list because it apparently alliterated with *cið* of *wrættes cið*. It should have been joined to *cilðenige* in l. 2, which stands by itself. The only exception that remains is *ampre* in l. 2. *Ampre* or *ompre* is another name for *docce* and dock is *rumex* in Latin. Wright's *Vocabularies* II, 68, 53<sup>4</sup> has another Latin name: *ompre docce rodinaps*. In either case the alliteration is restored by the Latin word, which is all the more remarkable as *rude* and *rædic* are also Latin names.

Equal quantities of all these herbs are pounded together in a mortar. In other prescriptions we are frequently told that a few plants are taken in larger quantities than the rest. Second in the list of ingredients come ivy berries and the bark of several trees. The place where the bark has to be cut off is specially indicated: 'near the base and on the east side'. Here the trees are biggest and strongest and the rays of the sun are absorbed by the bark, thus adding their healing power to that of the trees. The OE. word for magic is *cræft*, i.e., power or force, and it is the object of the magician to get hold of power and use it against the hostile forces. Therefore *cræft* is also the OE. word for a medical prescription, it is the power that operates on the disease-spirit:

Læcedomas wið hwostan hu he missenlice on man becymð and hu his man tilian scyle and wurtdrencas wiþ hwostan and wiþ angbreoste and drygum hwostan endlefan cræftas.

(Remedies against cough. How for various reasons a man catches it, and how one shall treat it. And herb-drinks for cough and for oppression on the chest and for dry cough. Eleven prescriptions.)<sup>5</sup>

After getting hold of power it remains for the magician to transmit the power to the spot where it is required. For this reason the pieces of bark are boiled in holy water until they are soft and can easily be pounded together with the herbs. The transmission is eventually brought about when the salve is smeared on the body. The holy water increases the effect of the pieces of bark, as it is an element of power itself, in this case based on religious beliefs. The selection of the trees was not left to chance, for nothing in magic is done without reason and every single detail has its function. Six trees are mentioned in the text: the ash-tree, the willow, the oak, the myrtle, the crabtree and the sallow or water-willow.

The ash-tree furnished the material for spears and for ships, so much so that the word ash was often used to indicate these objects. A spear is

<sup>3</sup> Cockayne, l.c. p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> Cited by the Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, Suppl., s.v. *ampre*.

<sup>5</sup> Contents to Book I, XV of the Leechbook.

a weapon for the attack and if an 'ash' could kill a man it could also destroy or chase away a disease-spirit.

The willow and the sallow seem to have an exceedingly strong life-force. No matter how often they are polled they always send out fresh shoots. Besides, the word *welig* became associated in OE. with the adjective *welig*, 'rich, wealthy, luxuriant' (cf. Du. *welig*), and a man who is rich is generally powerful.

The oak was the holy tree of the Germanic peoples and it will hardly be necessary to point out the power it had on that account in the eyes of an A. S. medicine-man.

*Wir*, 'myrtle' partly derived its power from its foreign associations as it is not indigenous to northern regions, and partly from its verbal associations with OE. *wir*, 'wire, ornament made of (gold or silver) wire'. The agreement between *welig* and *wir* lends an extra weight to this explanation. An Anglo-Saxon did not regard homonyms as different words that had nothing to do with each other. The identity of sound caused the two meanings of such words to be brought together in the minds of the speaker and the hearer, and the greater the divergence the more striking they were. The words *ear*, 'an ear of corn' and *eare*, 'an ear of a man or an animal' had not yet fully coalesced in OE., still we find that they are grouped together in a medical prescription:

Blodseten: eft gehal beren ear, bestinge on eare, swa he nyte.

(To stanch blood: Again (i.e., another remedy), take a whole ear of barley, thrust it into the ear (of the patient), so that he is not aware of it.)<sup>6</sup>

In Dutch the word *roos* is the name of a flower (a rose) and the name of a skin disease (dandruff and erysipelas), and in certain regions of Holland petals of the flower are applied against the disease. In German the word *Krebs* is the name of an animal (a crab) and also the name of a disease (cancer), consequently a crab is bound on a cancerous tumour<sup>7</sup>.

In the case of *surre apold* we have to look elsewhere for an explanation. *Sur apold* occurs in the form *wudu sur æppel* in the prose passage following the Nine Herbs' Charm (Lacnunga 45 & 46), where the nine herbs are among the ingredients of a salve. The seventh place is taken up by an apple, and though the passage setting forth its particular power is most obscure, we can infer from the structure of the charm that some mythological story was told about the efficacy of the apple:

þær geændade æppel ond attor

þæt heo næfre ne wolde on hus bugan.

(There the apple accomplished it against poison that she (the loathsome serpent) would never dwell in the house).

In addition to the bark of these trees one or more leaves (twigs?) of woodbine are mixed into the salve. Woodbine has exceedingly fragrant blossoms, it is strong-smelling, 'strong'.

<sup>6</sup> Leechbook I, IX.

<sup>7</sup> J. Schrijnen, *Ned. Volkskunde*, Zutphen, no date, II p. 309.

I have purposely refrained from analysing the specific power of each of the thirty-five herbs mentioned at the beginning of this bone-salve because I should have to forgo the answer in most cases. I do not know the medicinal value of the herbs and on the other hand a great many of them are of southern origin, so that the answer is not to be found in Germanic sources. In order to enhance the healing power of herbs they had to be gathered at fixed times, in fixed places, with or without the use of iron, and charms had to be sung over them. The Nine Herbs' Charm provides a unique instance of the preternatural efficacy ascribed to certain plants. The following incantation is sung over waybread or plantain, which herb is also used in the bone-salve. It comes second in the Nine Herbs' Charm:

Ond þu, wegbræde, wurta modor,  
 eastan openo, innan mihtigu.  
 Ofer ðe<sup>8</sup> cræte curran, ofer ðe<sup>8</sup> cwene reodan,  
 ofer ðe<sup>8</sup> bryde bryodedon, ofer ðe<sup>8</sup> fearras fnærdon.  
 Eallum þu þon wiðstode ond wiðstunest.  
 Swa ðu wiðstonde attre ond onflyge,  
 ond þæm lapan þe geond lond fereð.  
 (And you, waybread, mother of herbs,  
 open from the east, mighty inside,  
 Over you chariots creaked, over you queens rode,  
 over you brides cried out, over you bulls snorted.  
 You withstood all of them, you dashed against them.  
 May you likewise withstand poison and infection,  
 and the loathsome foe roving through the land.)

Continuing our analysis of the bone-salve we see that the fat of some animals is taken, namely of a hart, a he-goat, a bull, a boar and a ram. These are all male animals and they are no doubt selected because a male animal is stronger than one of the other sex, so it is again a question of power, strength. In between these kinds of fat *eald morod* is mentioned. *Morod* is connected with the Latin word *morus*, 'mulberry tree'. Mulberry itself is an altered form of *mor-berry*. Compare Du. *moerbe*, Germ. *Maulbeere* and OE. *mor-berige*, ME. *mulberie*. A drink made from these berries was called *moratum* in Latin, which word was borrowed by the Anglo-Saxons. Its foreign character gives it the power of the unknown, though I do not know in how far *morod* was a 'strong' drink. Its place in the list may have been a mistake (cf. *cwice* in the list of the plants), but it may also have been inserted there on purpose to indicate that it must be thoroughly mixed with the fat.

The fat is melted and then the text says: *geote to trindan*. Cockayne translates: 'pour into a round lump'. It is not clear what is meant by this expression. *Trinda* does not occur elsewhere in OE., but its connection with OE. *trendel*, 'circle, ring', is evident. I take it that the fat and the mulberry wine is poured out in a circle round about the mortar in which the herbs and the pieces of bark are pounded. The circle of fat served a

<sup>8</sup> MS. ðy.

double purpose: it intensified the power of the herbs by the addition of its own power, and at the same time it prevented evil forces from influencing the contents of the mortar, as they were unable to cross the magic circle of fat. Such a device is often employed in magic. The magician must make sure that nothing will hinder his preparations for at this moment he reaches the most important point in the preparation of a bone-salve:

'Collect all the bones that you can gather together and pound them with the back of an axe'.

One of the main characteristics of magic is the influence of like upon like, of 'bones upon bones'. But why is the back of an axe used to pound the bones? A very simple and natural answer is that a heavy and strong tool is needed to pound bones and that the back of an axe is better suited for this work than its edge. Still I am convinced that this is not the complete solution. A bone-salve is meant for broken bones and how are they broken? In fighting! In an entry to the year 1012 the Chronicle tells how a bishop was murdered by a number of drunken soldiers:

And hine þe þær oftorfodon mid banum and mid hryðra heafdum, and sloh hine þa an heora mid anre æxe yre on þet heafod, þet he mid þam dynte nider asah and his halige blod on eorðan feoll, and his þa haligan sawle to Godes rice asende.

(And they pelted him there with stones and with the heads of cattle, and one of them struck him on the head with the back of an axe so that he sank down under the blow and that his holy blood fell on the earth and he sent his holy soul to God's kingdom.)

As there were no public slaughter-houses in Anglo-Saxon times the bones and heads of dead animals presumably lay about freely and they seem to have been handy weapons. Our prescription must have been intended for wounds incurred in fights with such arms. Incidentally I might add that this is the only other case that the phrase 'with the back of an axe' occurs in OE.

Then old butter is taken and boiled with the rest. The word salve originally had the same meaning as butter, for it is etymologically connected with Gr. *ὀλπη*, *ὀλπις*, 'oil-flask', Albanian *g'alpë*, 'butter', Sanskrit *sarpis*-, 'melted butter'<sup>9</sup>. In the holy salve the butter had to be made from the milk of 'a cow of one colour, either red or white and without spots'. Here it must be old, i.e., rank, strong-tasting, 'strong'. Compare Dutch and German, where strong is the usual word for rank. When everything is sufficiently boiled the fat is scraped into a pan, 'as much as the quantity you wish to have'. It must solidify into a tarry substance and it is possible that the wax (l. 20) served to attain this. The whole mass is put on a fire and it is allowed to boil lightly for some time. Then it is strained through a cloth to remove harsh parts that might hurt the patient, and nine cloves of garlic, pounded in wine, are added. The text speaks of hallowed garlic, which I cannot explain. It may be a mistake for hallowed wine, which is often met with in the Leechbook and Lacnunga. Now everything is wrung

<sup>9</sup> Franck-v. Wijk, Etymologisch Woordenboek d. Ned. Taal, s.v. zalf.

through a cloth again, and parts of the herb cicely<sup>10</sup> are shaved into it, and holy baptismal water, wax, brown storax and white incense with their religious liturgical associations are put in.

A certain amount of this mixture, 'three eggshells full' are poured out into a vessel, to which old soap, the marrow of an old ox and of an eagle are added, together with the tarry substance mentioned above, and the number of ingredients is completed. Soap is a foreign product and its normal use for cleaning the body may also be intended here, that is to say, it may have served to clean a wound, but at the same time there is the association of frightening off unclean spirits. Marrow is put in because of its close connection with bones, and it must be taken from an old ox and an eagle because of the size and strength of these animals.

Though the ingredients are complete the salve is not finished yet. The mixture is stirred with a stick of 'quickbeam', probably the aspen or trembling poplar. For the holy salve the stick was specially prepared by cutting two incisions crosswise into it at one end, so that it had the shape of four bristles. On each bristle the name of an evangelist was written. The prayer Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, said in l. 25, is a reminiscence of this operation. The names of the four evangelists are said whenever there is any reference to four articles. In the present text they are repeated mechanically because the incisions were apparently always made in a stick used for stirring sa'ves. The four bristles have a natural function in mixing the various ingredients, and this function was increased in a magical way by cutting a stick of quickbeam, whose trembling qualities were supposed to have the same effect as the four bristles.

After Christianity began to influence the customs and thoughts of the Anglo-Saxons the original pagan charms were replaced by Christian prayers, in accordance with the ecclesiastical laws of the time: "It is not allowed to no Christian man ..... that he gathers herbs with no charm, except with the Our Father and with the Creed, or with some prayer that pertains to God"<sup>11</sup>. Therefore some psalms and hymns are sung over the salve. *Benedictus dominus deus meus* is psalm 143 (Vulgate). It praises the strength and the power of God, because He has delivered David from the hands of his enemies and has given bounty and wealth to the people. *Benedictus dominus deus Israel* (Luke I, 68-79) is a hymn sung by Zacharias after the Lord had shown His power by loosening his tongue. *Magnificat* (Luke I, 46-55) is the hymn sung by the Virgin Mary in answer to the greetings of Elisabeth. *Credo in unum deum* is taken from the liturgy of the Mass.

The prescription ends by enjoining that the salve must first be smeared on the head, wherever the sore may be.

A new edition of the text might be arranged as follows:

<sup>10</sup> OE. *myrr* means 'myrrh', and is also the name of a plant. The scribe has probably mixed up the two meanings. Myrrh makes better sense in combination with storax and incense.

<sup>11</sup> *Poenitentiale Pseudo-Egberti*, edited by J. Raith, *Die ae. Version des Haligar'schen Bussbuches*, Bibl. d. ags. Prosa, vol. XIII, p. 30.

## [Seo gode ban-sealf]

To godre ban-sealfe þe mæg wiþ heafod ece and wiþ ealra lyma tyddernysse sceal rude, rædic and ampre (rumex), fane<sup>12</sup> and feferfuge, æscðrote and eforðrote, cilðenige [and cwice]<sup>13</sup>, bete and betonican, ribbe and reade hofe, elene and alexandrian moran, clufðung and clate, liðwyrð and lambes cerse, hylwyrð [and] hæsel, wudurofe and wrættes cið, springwyrð [and] sperewyrð, wegræde and wermod, ealhtran and æferðan,<sup>14</sup> hegeclife and hymelan, gearwan and geaces suran, belenan and bradeleac.

Nim ealra ðyssa wyrta efenfela, do on mortere, cnuca eall tosomne and do ðærto ifig-croppas.

And nim æscrinde and weliges twiga and acrinde and wirrinde and surre apoldrinde and seales rinde and wudubindan leaf. Þas ealle sculan beon genumene on neðowearðan and on eastewearðan þan treowan. Sceafrige ealle ðas rinda to-gædere and wylle on halig-wætere oððæt hy well hnexian. Do þonne to þan wyrtrum on mortere, cnuca eall tosomne.

Nim þonne heortes smeras and hæferes smeras and eald morod and fearres smeru and bares smeru and rammes smeru; mylte mon ealle tosomne and geote to trindan.

Somnige mon þonne ealle þa ban tosomne ðe man gægaderian mæge and cnocie man þa ban mid æxse yre. And seoðe and fleote þæt smeru, wyrce to trindan.

Nime þonne ealde buteran and wylle þa wyrta and þa rinda, do<sup>15</sup> eall tosomne. Þonne hit beo æne awylled, sette þonne.

Scearfa þonne eall þæt smeru on pannan, swa micel swa þu sealfe habban wille and þu getyrwan mæge. Sete ofer fyr, læt socian, næs to swiðe weallan, oððæt hyo genoh sy. Seoh ðurh clað, sete eft ofer fyr.

Nim þonne nygon clufa garleaces gehalgodes, cnuca on wine, wring þurh clað. Scaf on myrran þa wyrð and fant halig [wæter and] wex and brunne<sup>12</sup> stor and hwitne rycels. Geot þonne innan ða sealfe swa micel þæt sy III ægscylla gewyrðe.

Nim þonne ealde sapan and ealdes oxsan mearh and earne mearh. Do þonne ða tyrwan and mæng þonne mid cwicbeamenum sticcan oð heo brun sy.

Sing þonne þærofer *Benedictus dominus deus meus* and þone oþerne *Benedictus dominus deus Israel* and *Magnificat* and *Credo in unum* and þæt gebed *Matheus Marcus Lucas Iohannes*.

Sy þæt sar þær hit sy, smite mon ða sealfe ærest on þæt heafod.

## Translation :

## The good Bone-salve

To a good bone-salve that is efficient against headache and against weakness of all limbs are necessary: rue, radice and dock, iris and feverfew, vervain and carline thistle, celandine and quitch, beetroot and betony, hound's tongue and ale-hoof, elecampane and a root of alexander, crow-foot and burdock, dwarf elder and lambscress, hillwort and hazel, woodruff and a sprout of crosswort, wild caper and spearwort, waybread and wormwood, lupine and bird's tongue, hedge clivers and hop, yarrow and cuckoo-sorrel, henbane and broadleek.

Take equal quantities of all these herbs, put them in a mortar, pound them together, and add ivy-berries.

And take bark of an ash-tree and twigs of willow, and bark of oak and bark of myrtle and bark of crab-tree and bark of willow, and a leaf of woodbine. All these should be taken near the ground and on the east side of the trees. Cut the pieces of bark together into small parts and boil them in holy water, until they are very

<sup>12</sup> MS. *vane*.

<sup>13</sup> *Cwice* occurs in the MS. in between *hæsel* and *wudurofe*.

<sup>14</sup> MS. *hæferðan*.

<sup>15</sup> MS. *don*.

<sup>16</sup> MS. *brinne*. — For this emendation, as well as for some other valuable suggestions, I am indebted to Prof. Dr. K. Jost, of Basel.

soft. Then put them to the herbs in the mortar and pound all together.

Then take the fat of a hart and the fat of a he-goat and old mulberry wine, and the fat of a bull and the fat of a boar and the fat of a ram; melt them all together and pour out (in the form of) a circle.

Then one must collect all the bones one can gather together and pound the bones with the back of an axe. And boil and skim off the grease, work to a circle.

Then take old butter and boil the herbs and the pieces of bark, put everything together. When it is boiled once, put it down.

Then scrape all the fat into a pan, as much as the (quantity of) salve you wish to have and you can reduce to a tarry substance. Set it over a fire, let it soak lightly, do not boil too strongly, until it is enough. Strain through a cloth, set it over a fire again.

Then take nine cloves of hallowed garlic, pound them in wine, wring through a cloth. Shave the herb myrrh<sup>17</sup> into it and (add) holy baptismal (water and) wax and brown storax and white incense. Then pour into the salve till there be the amount of three eggshells full.

Then take old soap and the marrow of an old ox and the marrow of an eagle. Then add the tarry substance and mix with a stick of wood of the trembling poplar, until it is brown.

Then sing over it *Benedictus dominus deus meus* and the other *Benedictus dominus deus Israel* and *Magnificat* and *Credo in unum* and the prayer *Matthew Mark Luke John*.

Wherever the sore may be, smear on the salve first of all on the head.

Summing up we find that all details, however odd and meaningless they may appear at first sight, prove to tend to one and the same object, the driving out of the disease-spirit and healing of the wound. The principles of such magic cures are widely different from those of modern science. Without endeavouring to defend the system I am inclined to believe that the practice was better than the theory. The successes of popular medicine in our century are often striking, not to say magical, for suggestion exercises a miraculous influence on the minds of simple folk, an influence that was far stronger in Anglo-Saxon times, because the minds of the Anglo-Saxons were steeped in magic thoughts and beliefs based on ancient traditions. Magic was a living thing, an active force, operating alike on the minds of the patient and of the medicine-man. In preparing the salve the latter was conscious of the 'craft', the magic power he was collecting from various sources and condensing into the form of a salve. The constant repetition of the idea of power in each element, which I have attempted to point out in my analysis, could not fail to influence the doctor and, through the doctor, the patient. Some explanations may seem doubtful or even forced at times, but it is not possible in the space of an article to reconstruct the magical atmosphere pervading the medicine of primitive peoples, among whom, in this respect, the Anglo-Saxons are to be reckoned. For the relation in meaning between butter and salve shows that such prescriptions were very old and were spread among several, if not all, Indo-European tribes.

Nijmegen.

G. STORMS.

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<sup>17</sup> Or: the herb cicely (?)

## Notes and News

Old English *Gār* 'Storm'

The noun *gār* 'spear' is a familiar Old English word. Less familiar is the noun *gār* 'storm' to which the present paper is devoted. Clark Hall, in the third edition (1931) of his *Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, glosses the *gar* of *Genesis* 316 with 'tempest? piercing cold? sharp pain?' and by his order of listing he presumably expresses a preference for 'tempest,' but all three meanings are obviously presented as speculative possibilities only, inferences based on the context. The passage reads,

Dær hæbbað heo on æfyn      ungemet lange,  
ealra feonda gehwilc,      fyr edneowe;  
þonne cymð on uhtan      easterne wind,  
forst fyrnum cald.      Symble fyr oððe gar,  
sum heard geswinc,      habban sceoldon.

There, at eve, they are long (i.e. continually) subject to an unknown [thing], every one of the whole body of fiends [is subject to] fire renewed; then, at dawn, comes an eastern wind, frost cold with torments. Always fire or *gar*, some grievous tribulation, they were doomed to experience.

In this passage we are given a glimpse of the climate of hell, the region to which God had banished Satan and Satan's followers. There the diurnal course differs greatly from that usual here. Never-dying fire, a kind of fire unknown to man, torments the devils all night (the cool part of a 24-hour period on earth), and dawn brings, not that warmth of the sun so welcome to mortals, but an eastern wind which with its icy blasts keeps up the torment, albeit in quite another style. These blasts seem to go by the name *gar* in line 316. If so, then Clark Hall's gloss 'tempest' fits well enough. His alternative glosses, however, remain possibilities: on the strength of the present context alone, one cannot be sure just what *gar* means.

If we are to come to a more definite conclusion we must find other occurrences of this difficult word. Now the familiar *garsecg* 'ocean', though presumably a kenning in origin, is a semantic mystery when its first element is taken to mean 'spear,' and the mystery remains if for 'spear' we substitute 'piercing cold' or 'sharp pain.' If, however, we take *garsecg* as a compound made up of *gar* 'storm' and *secg* 'warrior' the word becomes a wholly suitable kenning for 'ocean,' since the sea may perfectly well be thought of as a warrior whose weapon is the storm. And *garsecg*, so taken, exemplifies a familiar method of formation: compare *æscwiga*, *sweordfrecra*, and the like, where the first element is a weapon name, the second a word meaning 'warrior.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F. Klaeber, *Beowulf*, 3d ed. (1936), under *garsecg* (p. 338), has the following note: "Cp. *gār*, *Gen. (B)* 316?" Since, however, he took this *gār* to mean 'piercing cold' (*Anglia* XLIX 362 and elsewhere), his comparison did not lead him to any explanation of the kenning. The *segg* 'salum' of the Epinal glossary is presumably a derivative of

We have further evidence. In his *Widsith* (1912) the lamented R. W. Chambers published the following note (p. 204):

O.N. *Ægir* signifies both the sea and the sea divinity, who was remembered in England till modern times: he is the "monster Agar" of Lyly's *Gallathea*, and "eager" is still used for the sea wave or bore of rivers. The O.E. is *Egor* (*Eager*), ...

Chambers' derivation of Lyly's *Agar* and the modern *eager* from OE *eagor* 'sea' is of course wrong. In this word, as normally between vowels, OE *g* was a fricative, and presumably underwent vocalization in ME times according to rule, whereas the *g* of *Agar* and *eager* is a stop. Moreover, as Chambers notes but ignores, the modern word means, not 'sea' but 'bore' — i.e. 'a tidal wave of unusual height, caused by the rushing of the tide up a narrowing estuary' (*NED* under *eagre*). Nevertheless Chambers is right, I think, in his belief that *eager* 'bore' goes back to Old English. The stopped *g* is explicable on the hypothesis that we have to do with a compound,<sup>2</sup> and the obvious compound would be *ea-gar* 'river storm.' This compound, though unrecorded, may be presumed to have existed, since it yields the modern word in form and meaning alike.

Lyly's *Agar*, the personified river-storm or bore, has a name-form best explained as representing an old variant *agar* in which ON *á* 'river' had been substituted for the native *ea*. Such a substitution would have been possible enough, of course, in the Danelaw, and the action of Lyly's play takes place on the Lincolnshire bank of the Humber; presumably Lyly was using a form of the word current in that region in the sixteenth century. Its modern descendant *ager* is on record (see *NED* under *eagre*).

In the southwest, on the banks of the Severn, the bore went by another name, wrongly identified with *eager* by the editors of the *NED*. This name first appears in William of Malmesbury (twelfth century) as *Higram*; in modern times (from the seventeenth century onward), as *higre*, *hygre*, etc., riming with *tiger*. I conceive *Higram* to be a compound, made up of *hī* (from OE *hīg*, a base that occurs in *higian* 'hie, strive, hasten') and *gram* (from OE *gram* 'foe, devil, demon').<sup>3</sup> The first element *hī* of this compound I take to have had the sense 'tempest.' For the semantic development compare OE *hrere(d)nes* 'haste, disturbance, commotion, tempest.' On this interpretation, *Higram* means 'storm-demon' or the like.

*garsecg* by abbreviation, though F. Holthausen, in *IF* XXV 153 f., took it to be a word for 'sea' akin to Icelandic *saggi* 'dampness' and connected *gār* with OE *gānian* 'yawn', interpreting *garsecg* as 'the open sea.' In his recent *Ae. ety. Wb.*, Holthausen has no entry for *garsecg*, but under *gār*, 2. he gives the following: "*gār* in *gārsecg* m. 'Meer' viell. zu ais. *geimi* 'Meeresschlund'? Vgl. *gānian*." He adds a reference to a paper in *MLR* XXVII 204-6, where W. J. Redbond discusses untenable etymologies by Sweet and others and records an unconvincing etymology of his own.

<sup>2</sup> This hypothesis was advanced as early as 1912 by Eric Björkman in Herrig's *Archiv* CXXVIII 199-202, but Björkman took the second element of the compound to be *gār* 'spear'. He explained with great ingenuity but little plausibility how a bore might be called a river-spear.

<sup>3</sup> Be it noted that OE *gram(a)* took both weak and strong inflexion.

The personification reminds one of Lyly's "monster Agar." According to the *NED*, William's *Higram* (acc. sg.) was a Latinization of a hypothetical ME \**higre*, but the stopped *g* of this reconstruction makes trouble (analysis into a compound *hi-gre* gives a meaningless result), and it seems sounder practice to proceed from the form *Higram* actually on record.

The modern *higre* is readily derivable from William's *Higram*: (1) after the word ceased to be apprehended as a compound its second element would lose its stress; (2) the final *m* would become *n* in sandhi before dentals and later this *n* would be generalized; and (3) the weak final syllable *-an* thus obtained would eventually become *-e* in accordance with normal ME linguistic processes.

Etymologically speaking, OE *gār* 'storm' may be interpreted as a Vernerian variant of the *gās* recorded in OE *gāsrīc* 'wüterich.' One may also compare ON *geis* 'impetuosity' and the corresponding verb *geisa*, regularly used of storms: e.g. *stormurinn geisaði* 'the storm was raging.'<sup>4</sup> The notion of swift movement onward, inherent in these words, goes well with the wind of *Genesis* 315 and the onrushing tidal wave (speeded by wind) of the Humber estuary. In the light of *garsecg* and *eager* (*Agar*) we may conclude that the *gar* of *Genesis* 316 means 'storm' rather than 'piercing cold' or 'sharp pain.'

By way of appendix we take up the dialectal noun *acker* 'ripple, furrow, or disturbance of the surface of water' (*NED*). With this goes the dialectal verb *acker* 'to ripple, curl, as water ruffled from wind' (*EDD*). The verb is also used with reference to the hair: "the hair is said to *acker* when in wavy outline" (*EDD*). Both noun and verb occur in regions exposed to Scandinavian influence: Scotland, Northumberland, Yorkshire, East Anglia (noun); Northumberland, Cumberland, Yorkshire (verb). One may therefore suspect a connexion with Icelandic *kárr* 'a curl or curls in the hair' (Cleasby-Vigfússon) and *Kári* 'the curly-haired man' (used as a personal name). I conceive *acker* to have been a compound in origin, made up of a first element meaning 'water' and a second element answering to Icelandic *karr* 'curl(s)'. In the Danelaw an ON *á* 'river' might well have acquired the meaning 'water' by semantic contamination with its cognate, OE *ea*, which meant 'water' as well as 'river'.<sup>5</sup> That the first element of *acker* originally had long rather than short *a* is indicated by the Scottish spelling *aiker* and the early modern spellings *aker*, *akyr*. The vowel of the second element would of course undergo reduction when the word ceased to be analysed as a compound.

It seems unlikely, however, that the second element of our hypothetical Anglo-Scandinavian formation \**á-kár* meant 'curl(s)'. The English evidence indicates that it had the more general sense of 'movement, motion,' the

<sup>4</sup> The connexion (if any) of our diphthongal base with Icelandic *gari* or *garri* 'stærk Storm, raakold Blást' (Blöndal) is obscure to me.

<sup>5</sup> An example of such contamination is *dream*, though here it was the Scandinavian meaning which attached itself to the English word-form.

compound accordingly meaning 'movement or motion of water.' This meaning gave rise, on the one hand, to a now obsolete sense 'impetus maris, strong sea-current' (*NED*); on the other, to the dialectal senses 'ripple' etc. given above. In Icelandic, I think, the base *kár* underwent specialization in another direction: it came to mean 'wind,' i.e. 'movement or motion of the air.' Certainly the proper name *Kári* may be used in the sense 'Æolus' (i.e. the wind personified).<sup>6</sup> The semantic link between this sense and the sense 'curls' is not hard to reconstruct, but remains speculative and need not concern us here.

*Acker* has been considered here because the editors of the *NED* connected it with *eager*. To quote: "probably a variant of *eager*, called by Lyly *agar*." This is surely wrong. Variation between [g] and [k] is not unknown, it is true: witness the doublets *snigger*, *snicker* and *spigot*, *spicket*. But *eager* and *acker* differ markedly both in form and in meaning;<sup>7</sup> presumably they differ in origin too.

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### Some Remarks on John C. Adams's Globe Playhouse

A book of the first rank as a piece of Shakespearean research published by the Harvard University Press in 1943 would under ordinary circumstances hardly need an appreciation four years later. But Europe has been cut off from the intellectual labours of the New World so effectually by the war, and the process of picking up broken threads and making up for lost time is still so slow and painful, that most readers of *English Studies* will probably be grateful for a report on one of the most important and interesting pieces of Shakespearean scholarship of our generation.

After the rather vague and highly speculative theories of the 19th century as to the physical properties of Shakespeare's stage had culminated in the interesting and theatrically fruitful but unscientific experiments at Munich and elsewhere, research in this field received a new and firmer ground and an enormous impetus from the discovery of the so-called De Witt drawing of the Swan Theatre in 1887. From then on progress has been steady and a host of scholars have accumulated a mass of facts out of which gradually the main features of the type of theatre of which the Globe was the most famous example have emerged. The first important attempt at a reconstruction of the typical Elizabethan stage was made by Victor E. Albright in 1912. And some of the essential features of Albright's playhouse have been accepted by Adams. Later research, however, has added much that

<sup>6</sup> See under *Kári* (*kári*) in Blöndal, in Cleasby-Vigfússon, and in F. Jónsson's edition of S. Egilsson's *Lexicon Poeticum*. I have Professor Stefán Einarsson to thank for calling my attention to this use of *Kári*.

<sup>7</sup> I have found no evidence to support the editors of the *NED* in giving the meaning 'bore' to *acker*.

was unknown to Albright, and Adams shows not only a complete mastery of all the detailed information accumulated during the thirty years since Albright's book appeared, but he handles it with absolute independence, always testing others' theories by reference to the known facts. Most of the collateral work was done by American scholars — Joseph Quincey Adams, W. J. Lawrence, C. W. Wallace, and others — for practical speculation of this kind seems to appeal to the American mentality of which Mr. Adams himself is a shining example. He combines in himself the meticulous conscientiousness of the trained scholar with a truly Yankee eye for practical possibilities. He is, in a word, obviously the carpenter and builder among Shakespearean students and this particular bias in his mental make-up has produced brilliant results, only once or twice carrying him too far. He works methodically and gradually, first erecting the structure in the rough and then putting in the details floor by floor and room by room. His apparently expert knowledge of the qualities of the materials obviously used and the methods employed in using them affords him a solid foundation on which to apply what can be gained by a close study not only of the stage-directions of the plays — both Shakespeare's and many others known to have been given by Shakespeare's company — but also of the staging possibilities of a large number of scenes and scenic situations which would be impossible on our stages without the use of complicated modern machinery. The result is a practically complete picture of a theatre in all its important details, even to the storeroom in the attic and the machinery on the roof, and it would be impossible to repeat here all the interesting finds Mr. Adams's constructive logic leads him to. Only a short outline must suffice.

What is generally known, among informed laymen, of the Elizabethan stage is very interestingly exemplified in the first series of scenes in Laurence Olivier's film-version of *Henry V*. It shows the platform with the wide opening to the back stage, the railed-in upper stage above, and the large doors on either side surmounted by a bay-window. The two pillars supporting the heavens, and the heavens itself, are left out as unnecessary for the immediate purpose in hand. The whole arrangement makes a decidedly primitive and amateurish impression which is vigorously stressed by the rough and tumble acting. To this yokel theatre Mr. Adams's reconstruction stands in the sharpest possible contrast. The building, constructed of a frame of huge oak posts and beams enclosed with lath and plaster, was large and held in its yard and three galleries about 2000 spectators. The platform stage, tapering forward to the centre of the yard, merges at the rear into the back stage which fills the space between the two large doors on either side. Above the doors are the bay-windows, ample enough for several people to act in, and between them is the upper stage, as wide as the back stage below. One of the long-standing problems at this point was the staircase that figures so prominently in a number of Elizabethan plays (e.g. *Macbeth*). Adams finds a simple and convincing solution by placing the stairs behind the back wall and hangings of the upper and the back stage, but in such a position that the top and bottom of the stairs

are visible through the doors. He adds a third storey to the tiring-house, in which he places the music-room, and shows that this area, as well as the heavens, was occasionally used in performances. The heavens was primarily a platform supported by pillars — probably a couple of ship's masts — and intended for the machinery used in letting down deities and dragons, etc., and dropping rain and snow through the trap-doors, while the small buildings or huts on the platform protected this machinery as well as the actors and assistants from the weather. Once the position of the traps has been ascertained — a very ingenious piece of reasoning on Mr. Adams's part! — the distribution of the huts, very indistinct in Visscher's view of London, becomes clear: they form a cross, with a small tower over the centre containing the bell that rings e.g. the fatal hour in *Macbeth*, and supporting the staff for the large white flag that announced to the Londoners that there would be a play that day. The audience entered at a small door opposite the stage (which latter faced north) and stood on the sloping brick floor of the yard, or sat on benches or stood at various prices in the galleries. The wealthy sat on chairs in the lord's rooms, four boxes — two on either side of the stage — which were reached through the tiring house.

Altogether a magnificent popular playhouse of which not only the Londoners but all Englishmen were justly proud, comparing it with great satisfaction to the modest buildings they saw at Venice, then the greatest city in the world. And it was all the more magnificent since it was resplendent in what Mr. Adams forgets to mention, namely colour. That it was painted, there is no doubt. The builder's contract for the Fortune Theatre explicitly states that Peter Streete is to furnish the new building after the example set by the Globe, except, among other things, that he "shall not be charged with any manner of painting in or about the said frame, house or stage, or any part thereof". Which obviously means that the Globe was painted. Modern models, e.g. the one in the Folger Library at Washington, are done in the dark brown and subdued white of the natural oak and plaster often seen in old timbered houses in England to-day; but there is no necessity for assuming the same reticence for Shakespeare's day. Stowe and other witnesses report plenty of brightly coloured house decorations, and a popular theatre was not likely to dress up in the dark tones of a Puritan divine. In all probability the Globe was a gay and colourful building, befitting the brilliance of the costumes in the galleries and the lord's rooms, not to speak of the splash of colour on the stage.

With De Witt's sketch to go by, scholars have never regarded the entrance to the galleries as a problem, since it was easy to walk up the steps from the central yard of the playhouse. But Mr. Adams is not satisfied with such a solution. He believes the groundlings came early and filled the yard to such a density that the fine gentlemen who came late would not wish to push their way through the crowd. Hence he assumes that the audience as it entered the building was separated at the front door, the groundlings going through to the yard, while the gentlemen walked

along the passage built on either hand onto the outer wall and leading to a staircase up which they climbed to the various galleries. That, to be sure, is a practical suggestion, but it has no foundation in the known facts. Mr. Adams brushes the Swan drawing aside as being too inaccurate in other respects to be reliable in this. But that will not do; the sketch may be inaccurate in details that did not impress themselves on De Witt's memory, but the *ingressus* marked in the drawing most obviously did. If the viewpoint is any indication (though Büchel made the sketch), De Witt sat in one of the galleries and must have remembered pretty clearly how he got there. Besides, the drawing is completely borne out by Platter; the Swiss-German original is more precise than the inaccurate English translation quoted by Chambers and used by Adams. Platter says: "Dann welcher unden gleich stehen beleibt, bezahlt nur 1 Englischen Pfening, so er aber sitzen will, lasset man ihn noch zu einer thür hinein, da gibt er noch 1 Pf.," etc. Which means: For who remains standing right there below, pays only 1 English penny, but if he wishes to sit, he is let in at one more door where he pays 1 more penny etc. Platter is describing his own experiences; he was a wealthy man travelling for pleasure and most probably sat in the two-penny room of the gallery to which he got after passing through the yard, exactly as De Witt did. This simple fact is not controverted by any of the evidence Mr. Adams adduces, however interesting it otherwise is. We must simply accept the inconvenience of the crowded yard as one of the many illogical and unpractical features of Elizabethan life, which, by the way, did not insist on the complete segregation of the classes, since they were sufficiently differentiated by attire, place, privileges and other factors. The staircases, to be sure, were built in square towers projecting from the sides of the building. Visscher's drawing of the first Globe does not show them<sup>1</sup>, but the Fortune contract is a clear proof. Hollar's view shows them plainly and places them about opposite the outer end of the stage — fairly close to where De Witt has them. The stairs were obviously narrow — much narrower than those shown by De Witt — and probably, in such a cramped space, spiral — in spite of Mr. Adams's objections. The whole arrangement was intended to save space, and from this point of view (and as a concession to Mr. Adams!) the model built for the English Seminar of Basel University has the stairs leading from the yard next the wall that separates the galleries from the lord's rooms.

The entrance to the galleries is the one point of importance where Mr. Adams deviates from his admirable consistency of method and leaves the accepted facts to follow a course of a priori reasoning which most certainly has led him astray. But the error is so easily detected that it hardly detracts from what otherwise is a monument of sound scholarship.

Basel.

H. LÜDEKE.

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<sup>1</sup> And they are not hidden by Visscher's perspective, as Adams suggests; Visscher shows four of the eight sides of the building.

**English Studies at Nijmegen.** Dr. F. Th. Visser, English Master in the R. C. 'Gymnasium' at Maastricht, and Instructor to the R. C. 'Leergangen' at Tilburg, has been appointed Lecturer in English Philology at the R. C. University of Nijmegen, as successor to Professor W. A. G. Doyle-Davidson, who has accepted a lectureship in the University of Leeds.

Dr. Visser is the author of a Nijmegen thesis on *The Syntax of the Language of St. Thomas More* (1941; see *E. S.* XXV [1943] 86-90), and of a number of articles on English historical syntax in *English Studies* and *Neophilologus*.

## Reviews

*La Poesia metafisica inglese del Seicento. John Donne.* Di MARIO PRAZ. 173 pp. Roma: Edizioni Italiane. [1945]. L. 400.

*Il Dramma elisabettiano. Webster-Förd.* Di MARIO PRAZ. 308 pp. Roma: Edizioni Italiane. [n.d.] L. 600.

*Studi sul Concettismo.* Di MARIO PRAZ. (Biblioteca Sansoniana Critica, IX). 321 pp. Firenze: G. C. Sansoni. 1946. L. 400.

The professor of English literature in the University of Rome, Mario Praz, sends us the printed text of two series of lectures which he gave to his students during the war. The central figure of the first is John Donne, and here the author gives an abbreviated edition of the first part of his *Secentismo e Marinismo in Inghilterra*, published in 1926. Nothing like the *Richard Crashaw*, briefly mentioned in this periodical last year (p. 159). Such a revised and completed edition is to appear later. This is merely a students' handbook, though a very useful and practical one. By severely cutting out all the more or less irrelevant material of the 1926 work, space has been found for the full English text of all the quotations, so that we now have a generous selection of Donne's poetry and prose, with an Italian translation and full comments. The only matter of regret is that, owing to the cutting of nearly all the footnotes, quotations are now given without any reference. There are two new chapters in this handbook. The first gives a very general short view of *Secentismo* in Europe, with a short Bibliography. Here the A. traces briefly the development of Marinism, of Gongorism, and of Euphuism. The second chapter, on the English Metaphysicals, serves to show that "metaphysical" elements are to be found in all, or nearly all, the poets, from Chaucer downwards, and that only their regular recurrence and accumulation lends a "metaphysical" character to their poetry. Illustrations are mainly given from Chapman, and from Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* and *Troilus*, the two plays translated by the A. in 1939.

The other series of lectures presents itself principally as an annotated edition of Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* and of Ford's *Pity she's a Whore*. Here, too, there are two introductory chapters. One on the influence of the Senecan drama, the other on *La leggenda di Machiavelli* (pp. 35-67). In the first the A. illustrates the unbounded admiration which the Ten Tragedies enjoyed since the middle of the 16th century, when Seneca supplanted Terence as the model dramatist in Italy, in France, in England. This admiration was shared even by those critics who knew Greek, even by those who had translated Euripides, — so little had the knowledge of Greek contributed to the formation of Renaissance taste! In England Seneca exercised his influence mainly through the "translation" by Jasper Heywood, Studley, and others; a translation, which was really a vulgarization, and which was responsible for some of the most popular elements of the Elizabethan drama, such as the Ghost. More authentic Senecan influence, however, ultimately led to the unsurpassed death-scenes of Othello, Coriolanus, and Antony.

*La leggenda di Machiavelli* is a summary of the main points made by the A. in his study *Machiavelli in Inghilterra* (Roma 1942), a work which has not reached us, but which had probably grown out of his British Academy Annual Italian Lecture, held in 1928, when he was still Senior Lecturer of Italian in the University of Liverpool. In this summary so many interesting data have been compressed that the main argument is rather difficult to follow. But the leading ideas seem to be: that Machiavelli was painted much blacker in England than he really was, owing to French political "anti-latin" propaganda; that "politic" was used by the dramatists as equivalent to "Machiavellian"; that some characteristics and some characters that are commonly held to be Machiavellian, are really Senecan; that Machiavellian and Senecan elements had already been combined by Cinthio in Italy; that owing to this pseudo-Machiavellianism, and moreover to religious antipathy, to the love of exoticism, and to the dazzling effect produced by the splendor of its civilization, Italy represented for the Elizabethans the land of blood and fraud and picturesque passion. — The 1942 volume was, perhaps, to some extent a patriotic war-product, but it must have been useful for its readers and hearers by focussing the spotlight on some often overlooked or even neglected threads in the tapestry of the Elizabethan drama.

*Studi sul Concettismo* is the Italian translation of Prof. Praz's *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery, Volume One*, published by the Warburg Institute in 1939, which was reviewed in this periodical by Gordon S. Haight of Yale University<sup>1</sup>, and which in its turn was a greatly amplified version of the A.'s earlier *Studi sul Concettismo* (1934). In this new Italian edition there are hardly any additions or alterations. The A. has taken Haight's hint as to the natural reversal of the copper-plates (p. 53) but

no account is taken of his suggestions on Bunyan, Blake, and others; nor, as far as I can see, of any of those proposed by E. R. Curtius in the *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift f. Literaturw. u. Geistesgesch.*<sup>2</sup>. — So most readers will prefer and continue to use the English edition printed magnificently on pre-war art paper. By its side the new Italian version makes a very poor impression. Most of the 75 reproductions of the original plates have been reduced in size, and on bad paper they have lost a great part of their attractiveness and sometimes even of their meaning.

Still, by passing through their English shape, the old *Studi sul Concettismo* have suffered a sea-change, and the work is now the most comprehensive general study of Emblem-literature in any language.

The fashion of this curious sort of art, though originated in France, seems to have been set going in Italy by Alciati's *Emblematum Liber*, which appeared in 1531; and in our own country the Emblem became an outstanding form of the national literature during the "golden century". Heinsius' *Emblemata Amatoria* (1613) set the example, and Vondel, and Hooft, and Roemer Visscher, and above all Jacob Cats, followed suit. The first English Emblem-book was produced in 1586 by Geoffrey Whitney, under the title *A Choice of Emblemes*. Some fifty years later Quarles published his *Emblems*, mentioned by every historian of literature, and Thomas Hoywood, the playwright, even presented the English public with *Sundry Emblems extracted from the most elegant* (sic!) *Jacobus Catsius*.

In the first Chapter the A. tries to define as narrowly as possible the terms: Emblem, Device, Epigram, Conceit, and the relation between them. The next Chapter studies more in detail the relationship between the Device and the Emblem. The rules of the Device were rigidly fixed in Italy, but the Emblem developed freely and wildly all over Europe, as the classical developed into the romantic. The third Chapter treats of the Profane and Sacred Love Emblems, the most prolific category of all. The fourth and last Chapter distinguishes between two tendencies that are to be observed in the development of Emblematics. In one direction they became a sort of cryptic, esoteric language for the few, in the other they tried to make ethical and religious truths accessible to the many. These descriptions and explanations, amply illustrated from the original sources, are of interest to the connoisseur and the collector, to the historian of art, to the historian of taste, to the historian of general civilization. What will interest our readers most, the impression which all this quaint sort of art has left upon the products of literature, of English literature in particular, is relegated to an Appendix of some forty pages. — There are plenty of Emblems and Devices in the works of Lyly and Sidney, of Spenser and Daniel. Burton and Sir Thomas Browne and Herbert and Crashaw are fond of them. They are to be found also in the dramatists from Marlowe to Webster. But *pace* Henry Green, a collector and a connoisseur, who, seventy-seven years ago, produced an equally magnificent volume on *Shakespeare and the Emblem*

<sup>2</sup> Vol. XX, 1942, pp. 409s.

*Writers*, there does not seem to be a single indubitable instance of Shakespeare alluding to any particular Emblem. — On account of the Appendix alone Professor Praz's work is invaluable for the student of English literature. But every historian of seventeenth-century art is still looking out for Volume Two of his great work for the Warburg Institute.

Nijmegen.

FR. A. POMPEN, O.F.M.

*The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English.* Third Edition. Revised by H. W. FOWLER, H. G. LE MESURIER and E. MCINTOSH. Reprinted (with revised Addenda, &c.) 1944. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. xvi + 1520 pp. 10/—.

*The Pocket Oxford Dictionary of Current English.* Fourth Edition. Revised by H. G. LE MESURIER and E. MCINTOSH. 1946. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. xvi + 1036 pp. 5/—.

*An English Pronouncing Dictionary.* By DANIEL JONES. Seventh Edition (Revised, with Supplement). xxviii + 490 pp. London: Dent & Sons Ltd. 1945. 8/6.

*A Dictionary of R. A. F. Slang.* With an Introductory Essay. By ERIC PARTRIDGE. 64 pp. London: Michael Joseph Ltd. 1945. 6/—.

*It's a Piece of Cake, or, R. A. F. Slang Made Easy.* A light-hearted glossary of colloquialisms of the Royal Air Force, with some account of their derivations by Squadron Leader C. H. WARD-JACKSON. With drawings by Flight Lieutenant DAVID LANGDON. Enlarged Edition. 64 pp. London: Sylvan Press. 1945. 2/6.

In the first three of the dictionaries listed above the interest centres in the Addenda. There, if anywhere, we shall be able to study the development of the English vocabulary between 1938 (the date of the last available reprint of COD) and 1946. What kind of record do they present?

Let us begin by comparing the 1944 edition of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* with that of 1938. The majority of the new words and phrases, and of the new uses of old words, are due to the war and its paraphernalia. There are, first of all, the *air*-compounds: *airborne*, *aircraft-woman*, *airgraph* 'system of transmitting letters &c. by *air mail*<sup>1</sup> in the form of \*microfilms to save space', the *Air Training Corps*, and others. With them belong *ack-ack* 'anti-aircraft (gun &c)', *alert* 'air raid warning', *Anderson shelter*, *Baedeker raids* (on English cathedral cities), *bale out*, *balloon barrage* &

<sup>1</sup> Pre-war; see OED Supplement, quot. 1922; E. S. IV (1922) p. 15, quot. 1920.

<sup>2</sup> On *black-out*, *degauss*, *evacuee*, and a number of other war-words, see E. S. XXII (1940).

*barrage balloon*, *black-out*<sup>2</sup>, *Blitz*, the briefing of air crews, *crash-land*, *crumb* 'sound of bursting bomb or shell', *de-ice(r)*, *dive-bomb(er)*, *fighter*, *fire-bomb*, *flare-path*, *flight-deck*, *ground* 'prevent (aircraft, airman) from flying', *cloud-hopping* & *hedge-hopping*, *incendiary* (n.), *intercom* 'system of intercommunication esp. in aircraft', *intruder* 'raiding aircraft', *jink* 'manoeuvre aircraft . . . jerkily . . .', *leading edge* 'foremost edge of aircraft's wing', *Mae West*<sup>3</sup> (acc. to Partridge and Ward-Jackson 'the term is now official'), *paratroops*, *power-dive*, *predictor*, *runway*, *siren*, *slipstream*, *stick* (of bombs), *stirrup-pump*, *stooge* 'person learning to fly', *straddle* 'drop bombs across . . .', *time-bomb*, *tip-and-run raid*, *umbrella* 'a screen of fighter aircraft . . .', *under-carriage*, *Waaf*, *warden*, *weave* 'dodge, . . .', *wind-sock*, *zoom*, 'aircraft's steep climb', and several others.

The war at sea and on land has produced *acoustic mine*, *armoured division* etc., *Asdic* 'kind of hydrophone', *beachhead*, *Bren*, *Commando* (revived from Boer War), *crash-dive*, *dan* ' . . . showing limits of area cleared by mine-sweepers', *decontaminate*, *degauss*, *E-boat*, *hedgehog*, *Home Guard*, *jeep*, *landmine*, *machine-gun* (v.), *mechanization*, *mine-field*, *mop up*, *motorize*, *navicert*, *partisan*, *pocket* (of resistance), *sea power*, *Sten gun*, *task force* (U.S.), *tommy gun*, etc.

Not specially connected with any of the three Services, though relevant to the War, are *Axis*, *black market* & *black marketeer*, *bottle-neck* 'anything obstructing an even flow of production', *bull-dozer* (U.S.), 'heavy kind of steam navvy for levelling uneven surfaces', *deficiency diseases* 'caused by lack of some vital element in the diet', *evacuate* & *evacuee*, *fifth column*, *gen* 'information', *head-lines* 'summary at beginning of B.B.C. news bulletin', *isolationist*, *jitter*-(bug), *Lease-Lend*, *liquidate*, *monitor* (B.B.C.), *non-belligerent*, *penicillin*, *point(s)* (rationing), *postscript* 'talk at the end of some B.B.C. news-bulletins', *purge* (political party, army), *quisling*, *sabotage* (v.), *scorched earth policy*, *shadow factory*, *spam* 'f. spiced ham', *take it* 'endure punishment'<sup>4</sup> &c., *total war*, *track* 'wheelband of tank, tractor, &c.', *United Nations*, *utility* (clothes, furniture), *V-sign*, *war of nerves*, *wishful thinking* (pre-war!), and others.

Those unconnected, or only distantly connected with World War II include such widely divergent neologisms as *absenteeism* '(also) practice of workers of absenting themselves from work, . . .', *allergy*<sup>5</sup> 'special kind of immunity . . .', *allergic*, '(colloq.) antipathetic to (a. to blondes, . . .)', *bottle-party*, *clerihew* 'short witty, comic, or nonsensical verse, . . .', *clipper*, *columnist* (U.S.), *local* (public-house), *Marathon* '(applied to competitions of various kinds)'<sup>6</sup>, *plastics*, *preview*, *protective custody* (an obvious 'Lehnübersetzung' of 'Schutzhaft'), *quins* 'short for quintuplets', *quiz* 'interrogation, . . .', *sit-down strike*, *slogan* ' . . . catchy phrase . . .', *stagger* (holidays), *static water*,

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *E. S.* XXVI (1944) p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> In the sense, evidently, of 'severe blows'.

<sup>5</sup> Already in OED Suppl.; earliest quot. 1913. Earliest quot. of *allergic* in medical sense, 1925; colloquial sense not registered.

<sup>6</sup> But this use is not only attributive, as COD will have it; *Dance Marathon* occurs as well as *Marathon Dance*.

*surrealism, technicolor, teleprinter, trade cycle, tycoon* (U.S.), *vanishing cream, youth hostel*. Some of these were probably in existence earlier than 1938; this is certainly the case with *aquaplane* '(ride on) a plank towed behind a speedboat', (quot. from 1916 recorded in *E.S.* IV (1922) p. 62), *Belisha beacon, Buchmanism* (= Oxford Group Movement), *conditioned reflex, false pretences, hitch-hike, ideology, New-Deal*, and others that might have been recorded in or before 1938.

A few entries are of more than lexicographical interest. Such are hybrid derivations like *coolant* (from *cool* & *-ant*) and *de-ice(r)*; a back-formation like '*formate* 'v.i., (of aircraft) fly in formation'; shortenings like *intercom* and *quins*; and a form like '*s*: '(Also, colloq.) used for *does*, as *what's he say about it?*' — though this, too, is almost certainly older than 1944<sup>7</sup>.

A rather striking difference between the two editions of COD is the increase in the number of Americanisms, and the decrease in that of Indian words.

Some of the former have already been mentioned; others are, for instance, *alibi* '(Also, n.) excuse', *apple sauce* 'insincere flattery', *beautician* 'one who runs a beauty parlour', *blanket* '..inclusive, ..', *cattle-rustler* 'cattle-thief', *chair* '(Also, U.S. colloq.) \*electric c.', *drool* 'drivel, slobber', *heel* 'cad, bounder', *heeled* 'armed with revolver', *huddle* 'conference', etc. etc. Words like these now appear to be in more general demand than, for instance, *khavar* 'news', *khansamah* 'house-steward', *lota(h)* 'globular brass or copper water-vessel used by Indians', and many others included in the Addenda of 1938. Both changes, of course, reflect significant developments outside the sphere of language.

One strange slip has been continued from the 1938 Addenda: the sect of the *Mennonites* is said to have arisen in Switzerland instead of Friesland (see OED i.v.). Nor is the function of *town-major* a merely historical one, though this is perhaps more apparent outside Britain.

It is a curious feature of the *Pocket Oxford Dictionary* that, though smaller and cheaper, it is in many ways better than the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, in spite of the fact that the same editors are (or were) in charge. For one thing, the necessity to save space often seems to have put them on their stylistic mettle, so that POD definitions sometimes have a crispness and an exactitude lacking in the larger volume. A *go-getter*, according to the latter, is 'one who secures what he sets out to get; pushing person, thruster'; POD defines him as 'one who usu. gets what he wants, thruster.' To *broadcast*, acc. to COD,<sup>8</sup> is '(wireless, v.t.) issue (news, music, any audible matter) by wireless telephony to owners of receiving-sets'; acc. to POD '(v.t.) disseminate (news, music, &c.), by wireless.' In other cases the gain in space may be negligible or even non-existent, but the words sub-

<sup>7</sup> As a general rule it may, of course, be said that almost any word or phrase is older than the dictionary or the edition in which it is first recorded. What we mean in a case like this is, that the word (or form) was probably in existence even before 1938 or 1934 (the first printing of the third edition of COD).

<sup>8</sup> This, like many other POD Addenda, has been incorporated in the text in COD.

stituted nevertheless strike one as improvements. Thus *Blitzkrieg* is said by COD to aim at 'speedy victory', by POD at 'swift victory'; COD mentions *blitzed areas, cities*, POD *blitzed districts, towns*; a columnist (U.S.), acc. to COD, comments on 'people and events', acc. to POD on 'men and things'. As compared with their POD equivalents, COD definitions sometimes strike one as rather woolly.

In many other cases the revisors of POD have improved on COD definitions regardless of space. To give a few examples: COD defines *Brains Trust* as '(U.S.) group of experts guiding or advising the government, (transf.) any group of experts'; POD distinguishes '*B. (i.e. Brain) Trust, (U.S.) group of experts guiding or advising the government; Brains Trust, body, consisting mainly of experts, broadcasting impromptu answers to selected questions from listeners*'. A *bull-dozer*, acc. to COD, is '(U.S.), heavy kind of steam navvy for levelling uneven surfaces &c.'; acc. to POD, '(orig. U.S.), powerful caterpillar tractor pushing broad steel blade in front, used for levelling ground, filling holes, clearing paths through debris, &c.' Again, the definition of *chug* is altered and improved from 'plunging or explosive sound (also as v.i., esp. of exhaust gases)' to 'characteristic sound of oil-engine or small petrol-engine when running slowly.' The POD definitions in these and many other cases are more exact and descriptive than those of the larger dictionary.

The Pocket Dictionary also excels at definitions of scientific and technical terms. We refer to revised entries such as *heterodyne, ion, neon*, and to additions such as *atom(ic) bomb, chain-reaction, cosmic rays, cyclotron, orthogenesis, radar*, and others. This takes us to a group of words not recorded in the 1944 edition of COD, many of which, like *atom(ic) bomb* and *radar*, represent the very latest acquisitions of the vocabulary. To *air-borne* (still hyphenated) POD adds *a.-borne division*; other new words and phrases connected with the war are *battle dress, batsman*, '(also) one who signals with bats in his hands to guide aircraft landing on ship's deck', *Bevin boy*, 'young conscript selected by ballot for work in coal-mine', *Civvy Street*, '(sl.), civilian life', *cone* ('also, v.t., pass., of aircraft) be picked up or illuminated by many (hostile) search-lights simultaneously', *D day, flying bomb, foxhole* '(Mil.) hole in ground used as shelter against missiles or as firing point', *gridiron* (on military map), *jet-propelled, pin-point*, a. & v.t. (of targets). Among non-military neologisms the most important are *amplifier, animator* '(also Cinemat.) artist who prepares animated cartoons', *sterling bloc, animated cartoon, cine-camera, lighter* '(esp.) automatic device for lighting cigarettes &c.', *listener* (to wireless programmes; like some of the others undoubtedly pre-war), *moving staircase, occasional* (table, chair), *occupational* (therapy), *plough back* (grass, clover &c.), *producer* (Cinemat.), *rationalisation* (of industry), *rotor*, the *screen* 'moving pictures collectively', that's all there is to it.

This is perhaps the place to draw attention to a few neologisms not to be found in the Addenda of either dictionary. No mention is made of *bazooka, doodlebug* (flying bomb), *Falangist, jet plane* (= jet-propelled plane),

*make(-)do (and mend)*, *Mulberry Harbour*, *nylon*, *Pluto* (for *pipeline under the ocean*). In the Sunday Times for Oct. 21, 1945, the revisors<sup>9</sup> might have found *genocide*,<sup>10</sup> used in Count 3 of the Indictment of the Nazi leaders at the Nuremberg trial, to denote 'the extermination of racial and national groups'. Nonesuch News, published by the University of Bristol Union, December 1946,<sup>11</sup> writes, with regard to an appeal from the University of Cologne: "It was impossible to teach Germans democratic ways of thought from Nazi textbooks. The students, who had all been carefully 'screened' were seeking desperately to find a way out of the political and moral vacuum in which they now existed." — and again: "All students had to pass through a 'screening' approved by all the four occupying powers". This use of *screen* (in the sense of Dutch „zuiveren") is evidently a metaphor from the sense 'riddle (coal, &c.); *screened coal*, from which dust &c. has been removed.'<sup>12</sup> It may have become current too late for inclusion in POD. This excuse does not apply to *austerity* in the special sense in which it is applied to present-day living conditions. COD registers *compassionate allowance*, but not *compassionate leave*.

Both editions contain alphabetical lists of abbreviations. Such lists can of course, never be complete; on the other hand, they must nearly always include items more or less obsolescent. On a cursory examination, POD appears to have added B.A.O.R. 'British Army of the Rhine', B.L.A. 'British Liberation Army', D.D.T. '(an insecticide)', and many others; but not yet F.A.O. (Food and Agricultural Organisation) or O.P.A. (U.S.: Office of Price Administration).

The Supplement to Daniel Jones's *English Pronouncing Dictionary* is naturally shorter than the Addenda in COD or POD. New special uses of existing words require no new entry in a dictionary whose sole function is to provide phonetic transcriptions. Of new compounds from existing words Jones has only adopted a certain proportion, such as *airborne*, *airgraph*, *airworthy* (in text of COD and POD), or, to select a few from the letter B, *battle-dress*, *beachhead*, *black-out* etc. COD and POD Addenda not included are, for instance, *ack-ack*, *de-ice(r)*, *bull-dozer*, *runway*, *technicolor*, *wind-sock*, and a good many others; we have also looked in vain for such words as *bakelite*, *cyclotron*, *radar*, *stooge*, *Waaf*. From the number of entries given are to be deducted a fairly large number of proper names, many of them place-names. Those interested in archaic spellings may be referred to such choice specimens as *Cocksedge* 'kouzidz, *Conchobar*

<sup>9</sup> Or rather revisor; in the Addenda to the 1944 edition of COD one of the editors is denoted as the late H. G. Le Mesurier.

<sup>10</sup> Brought to our attention by Mr. W. A. Ovaa.

<sup>11</sup> Forwarded by Mr. S. Neuyen.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Fr. *passer au tamis*; also Trouw, Jan. 13, 1947: „Door het Raster van de Zeef. ... Nederlanders met een gaver verleden en nuttiger leven in Indië, die thans daarheen willen gaan, moeten op het departement van Overzeesche Gebiedsdeelen door een zeef van vragen, ten einde op hun politiek verleden te worden getest, vóór zij kans krijgen terug te keeren. Is de heer ... ook door deze zeef gegaan?"

'konə, *Happisburgh* 'heizbərə; *St. Osyth*, locally 'tu:zi ('occasionally heard, but nearly obsolete'), now has the spelling-pronunciation snt'ɔsiθ.

All deductions made, there is a residue of new entries that do not occur in COD or POD, and are not to be found in OED or its Supplement either. They are: *alternance*, *bamfoozle*, *bisurated*, *cheveril*,<sup>13</sup> *cholesterol*, *chronofer*, *flab*, *fuzzbuzz*, *isophone*, *meth*,<sup>14</sup> *pulau*, *strobilion*,<sup>15</sup> *yotization*, *yotize*, *yulery*; besides *memo* and *secondment* recorded in OED, and *shough*, which may or may not be the same word as *shough* marked obsolete in OED. We shall be obliged to readers who can inform us of the meaning of these words. Another new entry is *gremlin*, which is defined by the author of *It's a Piece of Cake* as 'a mythical mischievous genus of creature, specially invented by the R.A.F. as the cause of anything that goes wrong on the ground or in the air'.

For the next edition we would suggest the inclusion (in addition to those mentioned above) of the following words, some of them fairly old but not at all uncommon: *allergy*, *all-seeing* (stress?), *amentia*, *amourette*, *appro*, *autarchy*, *autarky*, *Bow Bells*, *Brain(s) Trust* (stress?), *cabriolet*, *call-up* (stress?), *call-out* (stress?), *Coningsby*, *denigrate*, *denim*, *Ensa*, *Epimetheus*, *exanimate*, *Eynsham*, *Falangist*, *Fianna Fail*, *filature*, *halitosis*, *hetaera*, *hodiernal*, *Iseult*, *kepi*, *labile*, *laverock*, *Loeb*, *Mae West*, *mascara*, *Molotov*, *maison(n)ette*, *poetry* (!), *true-born* (stress?), *Verges*, *Vives*; the putting of *catbird*, before, not after *catboat*; and the correction of *Breughal* to *Breughel*.

A certain amount of military slang is included in the three dictionaries so far discussed. Special R.A.F. slang is made accessible in two interesting collections, of which that by C. H. Ward-Jackson was first published in 1943. Both contain an Introduction, that by Eric Partridge being the most systematic. In his comments Partridge repeatedly pays tribute to the work of his predecessor, which is the fuller and more detailed of the two. For a general survey of R.A.F. slang, Partridge's Introductory Essay is to be recommended; Ward-Jackson's Glossary is preferable for browsing. Both booklets deserve the attention of the student of English lexicography as well as of English humour. Both — needless to say — are suspiciously proper, Ward-Jackson's even more so than Partridge's. Partridge more than once refers to Richard Hillary's *The Last Enemy* (1942), which does contain a few R.A.F. slang terms, but which is mainly interesting for its evocation of the atmosphere in which the linguistic innovations of the first years of the war arose and had their being.

Groningen.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

<sup>13</sup> Odhams Dictionary: soft leather, kid (comm. by Mr. P. J. H. O. Schut).

<sup>14</sup> Ten Bruggencate's English-Dutch Dictionary has *meth-stove* 'spiritusstel.' *Meth* is evidently short for *methylated spirit*.

<sup>15</sup> *strobile* = cone of pine &c.' (COD).

## Current Literature, 1946

### I. Fiction, Drama and Poetry

The year 1946, like the five years that preceded it, has produced little that is outstanding in original creative literature. By far the best work has been done in the fields of biography and criticism on the one hand and on the other in new editions or reprints of older works. A perusal of the columns of such journals as the *Times Literary Supplement*, the *Observer* or the *Spectator* will show that a considerable number of novels have appeared, but not many of them are in the first, or even the second, rank. Perhaps one of the more noteworthy is Phyllis Bentley's *The Rise of Henry Morcar* (Gollancz, 10/6), which tells of the business affairs and the domestic troubles of a West Riding cloth manufacturer between the years 1890 and 1945, ending with his realisation that true happiness is not to be found in worldly success or in financial security, but in inward peace, right sense of values, true friendship and a love of humanity. So his character and his philosophy gradually change and he becomes an idealist, a reformer and a philanthropist. In the West Riding Phyllis Bentley is amongst her own people and in the environment which she knows so well, and there is some excellent local colour in the book. But it must be confessed that the story is developed along somewhat conventional lines, that the characterisation is neither complex nor profound, and the final reformation of the hero is far from convincing. The chief attraction of the book lies in its realistic background and its presentation of the character of a provincial community rather than of any individual person, though even these hold our attention more in the earlier part of the novel than in the later chapters. *Henry Morcar* has many of the merits which we usually associate with the work of Phyllis Bentley, but it gives an impression of hurried writing and a flagging of interest when the story is three-quarters through; and if the author's interest flags, so will the reader's.

The same might be said of J. B. Priestley's *Bright Day* (Heinemann, 10/6), though here we have a different kind of work. Priestley has experimented in many media and has a diversity of interests, and in this book we find something of the merits, as well as something of the weaknesses, of all of them. The narrator of the story, a middle-aged man, retraces in retrospect the "bright day" of his life in the years before the 1914 war brought such a change in English ways and the English scene; and then a more or less fortuitous meeting in a hotel mingles this with the high-pressure, perplexing, problem-ridden world of the present day. Again the story, as well as the atmosphere, tails off towards the end. The picture of the early years is full of humour, tenderness, realism and beauty. The characters are homely and lifelike and it is pervaded by a nostalgia which seems inseparable from a middle-aged person's account of the world of his youth; but in the later chapters these merits are less in evidence. Indeed, the writing becomes laboured, there is resort to convention and a mild kind of

sensationalism, while now and again we suspect that Priestley is using his story as a vehicle for moralising or pressing home social and political views. In the earlier chapters it is the Priestley of *The Good Companions* and *Angel Pavement* that is writing; in the later ones it is Priestley the dramatist and the broadcaster. Each is excellent in his own way and within his own province, but they do not go together well to make the composite Priestley of *Bright Day*.

Another novelist who attempts to bring past and present together is Joyce Carey in *The Moonlight* (Michael Joseph, 16/6). This novel is much more closely packed than Mr. Priestley's; it is also much more complex and involved, though, it must be admitted, it strikes us as being less carefully knit together. Basically a plea for the freedom of the individual, it is also a study of the tyranny of the sex instinct and a satire upon the romanticising of love, courtship and marriage, with the recurrent theme of frustrated womanhood thrown in. While on the surface it draws a contrast between the Victorian age and our own, it also seeks to show that in all their essentials the fundamental human problems and difficulties of the two ages were essentially the same. It is not an easy book to read, for the author shifts backwards and forwards in time in a somewhat arbitrary fashion. Tragedy is blended with comedy, realistic humour with irony and cynicism, while the whole is suffused with a peculiar spirit of fantasy that makes both the characters and the story seem a little unreal. Mr. Cary never quite succeeds in holding the reader's interest. Simpler in theme and, on the whole, more satisfactory in execution is Michael Harrison's *The House in Fishergate* (Macdonald, 8/6), a picture of a quaint provincial town where the serenity of the middle-class ladies and gentlemen is suddenly disturbed and shocked into an awareness of present-day problems and movements by the appearance amongst them of would-be reformers and town-planners. More than once as we read through this novel we are reminded of *Cranford*. There is no outstanding character; the chief merit of the work lies in its atmosphere and the depiction of the "personality" of a small, respectable, middle-class community. Michael Harrison is not amongst the better known of English novelists although he has a number of other works to his credit. The present story gives promise of good work to come.

In *Village Affairs* (The Pilot Press, 7/6) Roger Armfelt has written an entertaining, if not very profound, story of village life centring around a young headmaster of the village school who has to encounter prejudice, hostility, spite and even scandal and calumny; but he finally wins the hearts of the villagers and (need one say?) marries a charming young lady. If the story is conventional, the picture of English village life is realistic and there are some well drawn character types in the school managers, the farmer, the publican and the local draper. But it is a book to be read for diversion; in no sense is it a work of art.

In a different category is Margaret Steen's *Rose Timson* (Collins, 10/6), though, once again, the book is marred by rather obvious defects.

It tends to be disjointed and episodic, and its excellencies are in individual scenes and figures rather than in the story as an entity. Rose Timson, the heroine, is a woman with a chequered career, and judged from a strictly moral point of view she is not altogether an admirable character, though it must be confessed that there were extenuating circumstances. When quite young she married a man who turned out to be a drunkard, bore him two children, divorced him, launched out into business, and after such an unpropitious start became a successful business woman, though a none too scrupulous one. The novel is nothing if not frank and realistic; some readers might say that it was cynical, but that would not be true, for cynicism implies a low or mean interpretation of life, human motives and human character, and there is nothing in this novel to warrant the assumption that the author takes such a view. She is merely reproducing a small section of life as she sees it without expressing any judgement upon it or attempting to universalise it. Her picture is stark, grim, unsentimental, unrestrained. The heroine herself is well drawn; so are most of the other figures that make up the rather tragic and sordid world of her earlier days; but, like Dickens (with whom she has something in common, though she lacks his benevolent optimism), Miss Steen is not so successful with her more respectable characters. They are lacking in depth and naturalness and do not ring true. Her style is lucid, vigorous and expressive, but (again like Dickens) she is inclined to paint in too vivid colours. We put down her novel with mixed feelings; at her best she is very good and excites interest in her characters as well as an admiration for her skill, but too frequently she falls below the best.

Sinclair Lewis's *Cass Timberlane* (Jonathan Cape, 9/6), another story of the vicissitudes of married life, though this time from the point of view of the husband, lays itself even more open to criticism. To begin with, the very basis of the story is improbable and far-fetched, telling how a Judge Timberlane, who has had an unhappy life, divorces his wife, falls in love with a woman who appears as a witness at a trial over which he is presiding, and finally marries her. By a great deal of talk around and about his subject the author manages to make a fair-length novel out of a very little material, but the flimsiness of the plot is only too obvious, and all Mr. Lewis's humour, satire, irony and clever dialogue cannot hide it. *Cass Timberlane* falls far below the level of his earlier work. The same might be said of Eric Linklater's *Private Angelo* (Jonathan Cape, 8/6). It has been much read and much talked of, but one suspects that its popularity was due more to its author's reputation (and perhaps also to the fact that it has been filmed) than to its own qualities. The story of the escapades of an Italian deserter during the British army's campaign in Italy, it becomes a conglomeration of disconnected episodes and character sketches rather than a well-wrought, coherent and connected story. The word "slap-dash" applied to it by one reviewer may be too strong, for there are passages of fine descriptive writing and neat dialogue, while some of the characters are drawn with sympathy and understanding, though others are

quite unconvincing; but had it been a first novel by an unknown author instead of one by a well-established writer who, quite justifiably, has gained a high reputation on the score of his earlier work, it is doubtful whether it would have attracted very much notice.

*Immortal Garland*, by Margaret Ferguson (Robert Hale, 8/6), on the other hand, is a competent, though not a great, novel. It is commendably brief, and the narrative moves rapidly; there is also an excellent character-study in the masterful Lady Brampton, who tries to tyrannise over her children and all around her. She is thoroughly convincing in a way that many of the other figures — even the heroine Judith Lippiat — are not. The story opens in Persia, then moves to England, and finally shifts to India, whither Judith goes to marry the man of her choice. There is a little too much of coincidence in it, but it compares favourably with most of the others we have mentioned. Worthy of notice, too, is Nora H. Lofts' *To See a Fine Lady* (Michael Joseph, 9/6), the story of a tragic love-affair between a dairymaid and a country gentleman of the early nineteenth century. The usual criticism might be brought against it: the basic theme (a variation upon the prince-peasant story) is conventional and too far removed from the realm of probability; consequently the plot can only be sustained by placing Araminta, the young dairymaid, in a series of rather forced situations. In view of this one cannot feel convinced of the inevitability of the tragedy. Granted the sequence of events which the author gives us, perhaps the tragic outcome is almost bound to follow; but the sequence itself is unconvincing. It is as if the writer had thought first of the climax to which she wished to work up and had then sought for some way of bridging the gap between that climax and the rather unlikely theme to which she had committed herself. On the other hand, the background and life of rural England in the early nineteenth century are well depicted, while some of the characters are skilfully drawn. Araminta herself never quite comes to life, but the overbearing, autocratic and heartless Mrs. Stancy, by whom she is employed, is a memorable creation.

It is but natural that a number of novels should take the recent war, or some phase of it, as their background. Eric Linklater's *Private Angelo*, mentioned above, is one of them. Another is Storm Jameson's *The Other Side* (Macmillan, 7/6), the story of a German family, allied by marriage to a French family, during the months just before the end of the war, when French troops were in occupation of part of the Rhineland. It is brief but packed with a diversity of character-types many of whom are interesting psychological studies of human nature when it finds itself in an unnatural situation. Though each stands out as an individual, all blend together to make a composite picture of a group or communal character. All through the story there is a sense of tension, of inner drama and conflict behind external events and appearances, which raises the human problems of this particular German husband, his French wife and their respective friends and relations to the level where they become symbols of the universal problems of humanity. This is one of the most significant novels of the year.

Finally mention should be made of two books which, though they may be read as novels complete in themselves, are really sequels to earlier works of their authors. In *Lord Hornblower* (Michael Joseph, 9/6) C. S. Forester tells of the further exploits and a remarkable escape of Horatio Hornblower, who has already made his appearance in previous works of that author, while *Tumbled House*, by Beatrice Kean Seymour (Hennemann, 10/6) continues the story over another two decades of the characters who previously were introduced to the reading public in *The Buds of May*. It is a pleasantly told, uncomplicated, straightforward story of ordinary, everyday domestic life and the way it is affected by public events and the life of the outside world, but one would hesitate to give it a high place either amongst the novels of the year or those of its own author.

The short story continues to flourish, though there are signs that its vogue is beginning to wane, possibly because of the gradual return to more normal conditions of life. Before 1939, according to library statistics, it fell well below the novel in popularity and had but a small reading public, for the most part a male one. During the war it enjoyed a temporary though spurious popularity, but that is now passing and volumes are once more beginning to encumber the shelves of public and circulating libraries. In the *Observer* of March 17th, 1946, Sir Osbert Sitwell declared that William Sansom was "one of the most gifted, if not the most gifted, of young writers of the short story". The remark was made in reference to his volume *Three* (Hogarth Press, 8/6), which contains three tales, one fairly brief, the others considerably longer, but all told in a striking and unusual manner. The longest and the best is "The Cleaner's Story", built up around the gossip overheard by a charwoman as she is cleaning the floor of a café. In none is the actual narrative of primary importance; it is indeed rather flimsy and is in the impressionistic style, but the writer is a consummate master of effect, atmosphere and suggestive character-study, while a vein of satiric humour runs through all three. This volume is certainly one of the best of its class which has appeared during the year. Is it stretching things a little too far to see in the stories an underlying theme of universal application: humanity in search of the truth about life, its values and the way to live?

Of the older generation of masters of the short-story A. E. Coppard is probably one of the best known. His *Selected Tales* (Jonathan Cape, 7/6) contains just the kind of work that we have learned to expect from him — stories of odd characters in odd situations, told with humour and unfolded in an easy, inconsequential, leisurely manner, often ending in an anti-climax. In T. F. Powys' *Bottle's Path and Other Stories* (Chatto & Windus, 8/6), on the other hand, there is an element of fantasy and symbolism. Powys is more serious in his approach to life than is Coppard, and his work is rather more conscious in its artistry; but that does not necessarily make him the better writer of the two. Of the stories here collected three have not been published previously; the rest have appeared

before but are not available in any single volume. *The Gipsy's Baby and Other Stories*, by Rosamond Lehmann (Collins, 7/6) contains tales of unequal merit. The titlepiece is by far the best of the collection, showing a sensitiveness to evil and suffering and an understanding of an unfortunate child's outlook upon a harsh yet intriguing and puzzling world. It is told delicately and naturally, without any excess of sentiment; but some of the others seem more laboured, less spontaneous and lacking in the subtlety which characterises this initial tale.

With the death of Katherine Mansfield, at the age of thirty-four, in 1923, English literature lost a writer who, had she been spared, might have gone down to posterity as one of the foremost of the moderns. As it was, she had already made a name for herself. *The Collected Stories of Katherine Mansfield* (Constable, 15/—) is not an easy book to assess. In a sense it contains too much. Many of the stories are good; others are not so good, and some are unfinished or even only preliminary sketches which the author intended to develop later. They are, too, of a variety of types: domestic, tragic, imaginative, dramatic, poetic. Katherine Mansfield's *forte* was in the field of subtle character revelation — particularly of characters who suffer from frustration (perhaps there is something of the personal element here) and in the present volume this is clearly in evidence. But it is doubtful whether it is always wise or just to publish all a writer's work, irrespective of its quality or finish. Even the most accomplished sometimes produce inferior work which it is best to leave in obscurity. Katherine Mansfield was no exception; that she was an accomplished writer is beyond dispute, and since she was, many a reader of this volume will probably wonder whether she would not have made a rather more fastidious and discriminating choice had she been spared to make her own selection. But there is at least this to be said: that what is of inferior quality does not in any way diminish the value of that which is best.

As will have been gathered from those examples already discussed, fiction is at present in the doldrums and the most that can be said for even the more notable works produced during 1946 is that, like the curate's egg, they are good in parts. There have, however, been several noteworthy reprints of older works. Anthony Trollope's little-known novel *Is He Popenjoy?* has been added to the World's Classics Series (O.U.P., 3/6), while to celebrate the eightieth birthday of H. G. Wells Penguin Books have issued a set of ten volumes of his works (1/— per vol.).<sup>1</sup> The titles included are *Kipps*, *The History of Mr. Polly*, *Tono-Bungay*, *The New Machiavelli*, *The War of the Worlds*, *The Island of Dr. Moreau*, *The Invisible Man*, *A Short History of the World*, *Love and Mr. Lewisham*, *The Time Machine and Other Stories*. In the same series there has appeared Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, Samuel Butler's *The Way of All Flesh*, Trollope's *Barchester Towers* and *Dr. Thorne*, R. L. Steven-

<sup>1</sup> This was the intention of the publishers, but Wells died a few days before they appeared.

son's *Virginibus Puerisque*, and G. K. Chesterton's *The Napoleon of Notting Hill* and *The Man Who Was Thursday*, while reprints of other classics are promised soon. Needless to say, these are all extraordinarily good value, though in some cases the demand for them has been so great that they are already out of print.<sup>2</sup>

( To be concluded )

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

### Brief Mention

*La Carne, la Morte e il Diavolo nella Letteratura Romantica.*  
By MARIO PRAZ. (Saggi, Vol. XL.) Seconda edizione accresciuta. Con 18 tavole fuori testo. xxv + 543 pp. Torino: Giulio Einaudi. 1942. 60 lire.

The second, augmented edition of this important study furnishes even more evidence of its author's encyclopaedic learning than the original version of 1930 which is known to English readers in the translation, *The Romantic Agony*, published by the Oxford University Press in 1933.<sup>1</sup> Professor Praz admits, at the end of his preface, that he is not concerned with aesthetic evaluation; his principal purpose is to demonstrate that Romantic literature, together with its later developments down to the present century, is characterised by peculiar forms of erotic sensibility. Although he is well aware that the whole movement contains other aspects beside its manifestations of morbid sexuality, he fails to show how these are integrated in the larger picture. It seems a pity that he did not make use of the opportunity of a second edition to overcome his aversion against writing "un giudizio complessivo" in the form of a concluding chapter in which he might not only have summed up the many results of his investigations (which are scattered and sometimes even concealed in the text and in the notes at the ends of the chapters), but also outlined the historical phases of the Romantic movement from the domination of the figure of the Fatal Man during the Byronic period to the later ideal of the Fatal Woman and, finally, to the androgynous type represented by writers like Oscar Wilde or André Gide.

Geneva.

H. W. HÄUSERMANN.

<sup>2</sup> Though not fiction, the following two works may be noted in passing; *English Diaries of the Nineteenth Century*, Edited by James Aitken (Penguin Books, 1/—), in which extracts from twenty-two diarists of the first half of the century are assembled, and *The Letters of Charles Lamb*, Edited by Guy Pocock (Everyman Library, 2 vol., 6/—).

<sup>1</sup> Rev. in *E. S.*, XVI (1934), 36-40.

## Patterns of Tempo and Humor in *Othello*

The Galenic system of the four humors, which had dominated medical thought in the Near East and in Europe for a thousand years, was so firmly established in Elizabethan England that it had become as popular as folklore; and any writer of fiction or drama who aimed at psychological realism had no other terminology or theory by which to explain the minds of his characters. The most deeply realistic author of his age was Shakespeare; and the present writer has been at some pains to show how he used humoral psychology, sometimes combined with astrology, to give verisimilitude to his figures, and, in effect, classified them as sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric and melancholy.<sup>1</sup> At times, however, special circumstances — such as the death of Hamlet's father, which turned the prince from his natural sanguine disposition, or Timon's loss of his fortune, or Orsino's unrequited love for Olivia — might change one's natural humor, even to its opposite; and, since humors might so change, surely a humor in a given character might grow stronger or weaker, depending upon circumstances. A mild melancholy, for example, might go with wit and learning; whereas its more violent extremes produced a sort of manic-depressive psychosis, with accompanying periods of frenzy.<sup>2</sup> The Duke Orsino's naturally sanguine personality has grown melancholy under the influence of Olivia's continued refusal of his suit; and then in Act V, this melancholy is cured by Viola's acceptance of his hand; thus presumably his humor must have passed through several stages or degrees<sup>3</sup>, even though the play has not space to portray them in detail. The tracing of these degrees of melancholy, or phlegm, or choler, is no simple matter; but such a tracing should shed significant light on a character's inner evolution and also show his reactions to the changing situations of the plot. If evidence can be found that will, even in part, show these subtle *nuances*, they should not be neglected.

The speed of a character's speech, at least in his metrical lines, can now be fairly well established, chiefly by counting such contractions as *don't* and by judging from the meter whether words such as *heav'n* — most of them listed in Schmidt's *Lexicon* as having both a full pronunciation for slow speed and a slurred pronunciation for fast — appear in their slower or their faster form. Other evidence is sometimes also helpful.<sup>4</sup> The following three and a half lines, must, for instance, be spoken slowly; for they contain at least three cases in which common slurrings are omitted and a use of the periphrastic *do*, which generally retards the tempo :

<sup>1</sup> See the present writer, *The Humors and Shakespeare's Characters*, Durham, N.C., 1945 (rev. in *E. S.*, Dec. 1946).

<sup>2</sup> L. Lemnius, *Touchstone of Complexions*, London, 1576, leaf 134 v.

<sup>3</sup> See the present writer, "The Melancholy Duke Orsino", *Bull. Hist. Med.*, VI, 1020 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See the present writer, "Speech-Tempo in Act I of *Othello*", *W.V.U. Phil. Bull.*, 1946. *E. S.* XVIII. 1947.

*Desd.* I can|not tell. Those that *do* teach young babes  
 Do | it with gentle means and easy tasks ;  
 He might have chid me so; for, in good faith,  
 I | am a child to chiding.

The following lines, on the other hand, start slowly, grow rapid, and then slow again toward the end, to express the emphasis of "do|not" and "ev|er... ev|er":

*Desd.* O good I|ago,  
 What | shall I do to win my lord again ?  
 Good friend, go to him; for by this light of heaven,  
 I know not how I lost him. Here I kneel :  
 If e'er my will did trespass 'gainst his love  
 Either in discourse of thought or actual deed,  
 Or that mine eyes, mine ears, or any sense,  
 Delighted them in any other form,  
 Or that I do | not yet, and ev|er did,  
 And ev|er | will, though he *do* shake me off  
 To beggarly divorcement, love him dearly,  
 Comfort forswear me !

The contrast of "e|er my will" and "ev|er did" is striking; "I|ago" in three syllables contrasts with Emilia's "Iago" in two, some thirty-five lines earlier. Indeed, the first three words must be spoken slowly, and in violent contrast are the lines that follow with such unaccustomed slurrings as "to him" and "Either", required by the meter. In short, both the number and the grouping of the slurrings and lack of slurrings and also their quality and degree rather clearly express the tempo of the lines.

From such evidence, a ratio can be computed that expresses the degree of speed of a character in a given scene or passage; and these ratios can be compared from scene to scene and between character and character. As a further check, some attention might also be given, as in the preceding analysis, to the comparative rarity of a slurring and so to its force as evidence: is it common enough to suggest no more than an *adagio* time, or is it so rare and so extreme as to imply *prestissimo*? The average speed of the plays was rather fast, and seems to run about 1 : 2; and thus speeches and scenes can be computed as slower or faster than average. The second passage of Desdemona quoted above, having six slow to five fast indications, might be expressed in the ratio, 1 : 1, and so both of the speeches quoted are certainly slower than the norm. The arrangement of the indications, furthermore, might be diagramed as follows, a vertical mark standing for a line that yields no evidence: SSF|FFFF||SSSSS|. In this way, the spacing of the slow and the fast items can be rapidly expressed, and the rhythmic character of the speech, *legato* or *rubato*, made apparent.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> For further detail, see the present writer, "Contrast of Tempo in the Balcony Scene", *Shak. Bull.*, to appear.

The Elizabethans imputed to the humors an influence on every aspect of man's body and mind; and thus they associated certain habits of speech with certain humoral types: phlegmatic persons had a small, soft voice,<sup>6</sup> and, from the very nature of their humor, articulated slowly; and choleric persons under the astral influence of Mars, a loud, sharp, hasty voice.<sup>7</sup> In short, these two opposite humors had opposite types of speech, deliberate and rapid, in varying degrees. Shakespeare fittingly pictures the voluptuary Antony as very slow-spoken in his ardent scenes with Cleopatra, somewhat faster in the more political scenes, and yet faster under the choleric influence of war.<sup>8</sup> His tempo, therefore, seems to show a certain correlation with the degree of his fundamental humor. The present study proposes to examine the four major rôles of *Othello*: Desdemona, Othello, Iago and Cassio, the first generally phlegmatic, the other three variations of choleric. The tempo of each in each scene where he appears can be approximately computed. These figures can be checked against the speed demanded by his humor, and against the situation in each scene, and compared with the tempos of the other characters in these scenes. Thus a character's varying speeds can be used as a sort of index of his humor and the degree of his humor at different points in the play. Such a study, moreover, should reveal the fundamental integration of character with plot and with metrical and vocal style.

Desdemona's character is of doubtful consistency:<sup>9</sup> in Act I, which is Shakespeare's own addition to his source, she is largely the English independent lady of high birth, and, like Juliet and Miranda, seems dominated by choleric of the sun, which approached the genial sanguine temper;<sup>10</sup> but during the other four acts, which are based on Cinthio's old Italian story, she becomes the passive, unsophisticated Venetian girl, the sport of an intrigue that she does not even comprehend: according to Act I, she runs her father's house, entertains his guests, and woos and elopes and pleads her case before the Council, all quite on her own; in the other acts, she seems almost stupidly maladroit in handling Cassio's suit, and she cannot realize that Othello could be jealous, even when Emilia tells her so. This latter is the phlegmatic Desdemona, the ideal — but far from the actual — Elizabethan girl. As a recent article has shown,<sup>11</sup> Desdemona's tempo goes through three phases; and these phases correspond with her changing

<sup>6</sup> T. Hyll, *Contemplation of Mankind*, London, 1571, leaf 121; *Booke of Dr. Arcandam*, London, 1592, appended "Phisiognomie".

<sup>7</sup> Hyll, *op. cit.*, leaf 121r; "Arcandam", *loc. cit.* T. Elyot, *Castel of Helth*, London, 1541, leaf 2v; C. Dajiot, *Judgement of the Starres*, London, 1598, sig. D 3r; Lemnius, *op. cit.*, leaf 99v.

<sup>8</sup> See the present writer, "Speech-Tempo and Humor in Shakespeare's Antony", *Bull. Hist. Med.*, to appear.

<sup>9</sup> See the present writer, "Desdemona", *Rev. Litt. Con.p.*, XIII, 337 *et seq.*

<sup>10</sup> See the present writer, *The Humors etc. ed. cit.*, 45 *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> See the present writer, "Changes in the Tempo of Desdemona's Speech", *Anglica* (published at the University of Florence), I, 149 *et seq.*

position in the plot and with the reactions of these changes on her character. In her first three scenes, Desdemona is hardly slower than the norm of the Elizabethan stage, with a ratio of 1 : 2. She speaks (as Hamlet advised the actors) trippingly and without restraint; for she is quite sure of herself and of her marriage and of Othello. She has not yet experienced the frustration of inward doubt or of outward circumstance; and her speed seems appropriate to the moderate choler of the sun. In the scenes that follow, as she pleads Cassio's suit, and struggles against Othello's evasions and his final refusal, her speed grows more emphatic and so slower: she repeatedly urges her husband, and redoubles her assurances to Cassio; and the evidence for rapidity falls from 1 : 2 to about 1 : 1. At last, she realizes that her husband believes her faithless; she is dazed and stunned, speaks briefly, and gropes for words; and, in the last act, her tempo slows down to the unusual ratio of 2 : 1 — the same ratio as the poised and self-contained Othello at the beginning of the play, but retarded for exactly opposite reasons. This is, moreover, an exact reversal of her own ratio at the beginning of the play; and this change in speech seems to reflect the change in her own character from a carefree girl to a woman who has faced difficulty and bitterness and final tragedy. In short, Desdemona's varying tempo seems to reflect the impinging of the plot upon her character: opposition at first strengthens her will; failure in Cassio's suit is beyond her understanding; final catastrophe almost paralyzes her. She has become altogether passive and phlegmatic, and her speech extremely slow.

Not only does the quantity of Desdemona's slurrings and other evidences of speed contrast greatly in her first scene and her last, but the quality of the evidence also shows this difference. In Act I, Scene iii, where she first appears, though she speaks only twenty-five lines, and occasionally retards her speech for emphasis as in "do perceive", "vi|olence" and "be|ing", yet these lines show no less than ten rather strong proofs of speed: "I am", "you are", "Daughter", "here's", "prosperous", "To assist", "heart's", "even", "quality", and "interim". I omit the less cogent evidences such as "education" and "gracious". In the last act, as she wakes, she asks rapidly, "Who's there?" Then as she realizes that Othello is going to kill her, she seems dazed and inarticulate; her speech comes slow; and she reverses the slurrings apparent in her first scene, and uses, "you | will", "you | are", "They | are", "unnatur|al", "do | not", "ne|ver" repeatedly in two syllables, and "he | is". In short, she must be speaking very slowly. One can hardly escape the proofs of telling contrast in Desdemona's initial and her final scene; and her intervening speech consistently and with fitting psychological cause, slows down from the light and tripping tempo of Act I to her rigid and halting speech at the catastrophe.

In the greatest scenes, Desdemona's opposite in the dialogue is Othello; and a rather full examination of his tempo would see to be in order. In Act I, Scene ii, when he first appears, he speaks as slowly as Desdemona does in the final scene: ratio of 2 : 1. His deliberation, however, arises, not from

shock but from self-control. He stands out as the calm and imperturbable soldier in contrast to the tumult of the searching parties and to Iago's urgings that he flee. The Council requires his attendance; Brabantio flings accusations and insults at him; but Othello seems quite unmoved, and speaks with a quiet deliberation. The following scene before the Doge, in which Othello tells of his wooing and defends himself, strikes more fire in him, and his speech accelerates to almost 1:2; and the following early scenes in Cyprus vary between 1:1 and 1:2. About line 110 in Act III, Scene iii, he first becomes clearly jealous; within a few lines, frenzy augments his speed from 1:2 to 1:3; in the following scene, it reaches 1:6, and, throughout Act IV and Act V, Scene i, it remains about 1:4 or 1:5. This is a violent contrast to his first appearance when he was so calm and sure of himself. In the last scene, he has achieved a sort of quiescence of decision; and his tempo returns to about 1:2, as slow as it started except for outbursts when at last he realizes what he has done. In short, Othello's tempo, except for the final scene, follows a general pattern directly opposite to Desdemona's: she becomes slower and more insistent; he, frenzied and faster. This produces in the great Act III, Scene iv, the telling dramatic contrast in which the two speak at cross purposes, he demanding the handkerchief with jealous fury, and she with slow unwavering intonation demanding that he reinstate Cassio. This contrast again points up the dialogue in Act IV, Scene ii, when Othello directly accuses her. In Act V, Scene i, Othello's few lines still show this headlong speed; but, in the final scene, he has made his decision, and all is irrevocable; and his tempo drops to a more normal pace. Thus the crucial scenes of the tragedy present the contrast of the tempestuous Othello and the slow spoken Desdemona. In the Balcony Scene of *Romeo and Juliet*, the contrast of tempo between the two lovers is merely a trick of histrionic style; but, in *Othello*, it is grounded, as it should be, in situation and character: Othello would and should grow faster; and Desdemona, slower and yet slower. In *Hamlet*, the Prince shows little change in tempo, perhaps because the play deals with court intrigue rather than with deep human passions presented in the raw; but the more expressive Moor shows in the very tempest and whirlwind of his passion the depth of his emotion; and this passion is brought out by vivid contrast with a Desdemona whose quiet speech reflects her ideal womanhood.

Not only the quantity but also the nature of the evidence brings out Othello's tempo and its contrasts with other characters. In Act I, Scene ii, the Moor's calm deliberation is in vivid opposition to Brabantio's exasperated haste shown in such slurrings as "delicate", "minerals", "I'll", "have't" and "'Tis". Othello replies:

Hold your hands,  
Both you of my inclining and the rest:  
Were | it my cue to fight, I | should have known | it  
Without a prompter. Where | will you that I go  
To | answer this your charge?

Not only does Othello fail to slur repeatedly, but he slows the lines also with the needless "*that* I go" and the emphatic "*this* your charge." In short, in this scene and the following, Brabantio is a foil to Othello's self-restraint — a self-restraint that later must contrast with the violence of the Moor's jealousy.

Othello's fury and his speed seem to achieve their apogee with a ratio of 1:6 in Act III, Scene iv. He enters at line thirty, and tries at first to be calm, as shown in "hand | is"; but soon he grows faster with "liberal", "liberty", "here's" and "'Tis". Again he slows down with "heraldry | is" and "I | have"; but, on learning of the loss of the handkerchief, his speech runs fast again with rising choler, and there are only occasional slow bits for emphasis. Some lines show evidence of the extremest speed, such as: "'Twould make her amiable and subdue my father..." And again: "Is't lost? is't gone? speak, is it out o' the way?" His passion overwhelms Desdemona. He cries "Fetch't", and slurs "handkerchief" into two syllables, and rushes from the stage. Indeed, not only the number but the nature also of Othello's slurrings support the ratio of 1:6 in favor of great speed. In Act V, Scene i, the evidence for speed again rises almost to this level; and again the exaggerated slurrings show a fast choleric pace: "The voice of Cassio: Iago keeps his word." This shows a slurring of three sequent vowels as in Dante: for English poetry, certainly a most unusual example of extreme elision. Othello slurs "even", "'Tis", "honest" — all this in the space of seven lines. In short, the evidence of quality, as well as quantity, supports the theory of slow tempo for Othello in Act I, Scene ii, and fast from the middle of the play to the final scene. In short, where he is most choleric, he speaks most rapidly.

This final scene presents a contrast between the halting speech of Desdemona and Othello's occasional burst of speed. His initial soliloquy starts slowly with "It | is ... it | is ... It | is ..." Then his speech grows more irregular with "cunning'st", and ends rapidly with "ne'er", "sorrow's" and "heavenly". In moments of greater self-control, he slows his speech, as when he grants her time to pray:

Well, do | it, and be brief; I | will walk by:  
I | would | not kill thy unprepared spirit;  
No; heaven forfend! I | would | not kill thy soul.

This speech is entirely slow except for the exclamatory prayer to heaven. But his bitterness and passion break through in swift gusts of words when he believes that his wife is lying to him:

By heaven, I saw my handkerchief in's hand.  
O perjured woman! thou dost stone my heart,  
And makest me call what I intend to do  
A murder, which I thought a sacrifice ...

This outburst, contained between Desdemona's two halting declarations that she "ne|ver" loved Cassio or gave him the handkerchief, points the ironic contrast of the scene. She looks to Cassio to give evidence of her virtue; and Othello, burning with jealousy, cries out: "No, his mouth is stopp'd; Honest Iago hath ta'en order for't." Just as he stifles her, he once more achieves judicial calm. She begs for "one prayer", and he replies, "It | is too late." Emilia calls; and Othello, still in the calm of fixed decision says to himself: "What noise | is this? ... I |would | not have thee linger in thy pain." Again Emilia calls; and he bursts into sudden speed as the impinging of the outer world makes him realize what he has done: "Yes: 'tis Emilia. — By and by. — She's dead." And then he more slowly senses his loss: "I | have no wife". Thus he runs slow and fast as his passions burst over the dam of his restraint. In this last scene, the average of Othello's speech is rather slow; but actually this average represents a systole and diastole of choleric passion still struggling against exhaustion and restraint.

Iago's part, like Desdemona's, shows a general retardation of tempo, albeit less extreme; and thus both their rôles contrast with Othello's gathering speed. His fastest speech is his glib assurance to Roderigo at the beginning of the play, where he reaches a speed of 1 : 4. In the rest of Act I and Act II, he varies between 1 : 2 and 1 : 3; and, in the rest of the play, his speech is not far from 1 : 1 — a sharp contrast to his own earlier easy-going talk and to Othello's furious outbursts. The colloquial, tripping quality, apparent in the first scene, is never quite lost throughout Iago's role; and yet, he is seldom extremely fast. His dialogue with Othello, for example, at the beginning of Act IV, has mingled evidence of moderate speed and moderate retardation, an almost *legato* quality: he slurs "'tis" and "venial" and "bestow't", but not "handker|chief" or "be|ing" or "have it" or "ve|ry"; sometimes his utterance hurries as in "importunate", and sometimes slows greatly as in "Convincèd"; but, generally, the contrasts of his tempo seem no greater than those of common speech, and utterly lack the waves of passion apparent in Othello's final scene; and this is borne out by his large proportion of colloquial prose and by his more scheming, less elemental character. Thus Iago, like Desdemona, is a foil to Othello's frenzy. Iago's position both in society and in the army<sup>12</sup> does not permit him to give public voice to his thoughts and feelings; and his choler is of the sort that lies concealed. The depth of his bitterness against the man who had denied him advancement and who was reputed to have been his wife's lover can express itself, not in violent speech such as Othello uses, but in intrigue; and the deceit of intrigue requires a normal, natural tone of speech; and, as this intrigue satisfies his choler, it declines, and his speed grows slower.

Cassio is the charming Florentine gentleman, learned in mathematics and adroit in the polite arts, but his choler is apparent in his profession of arms

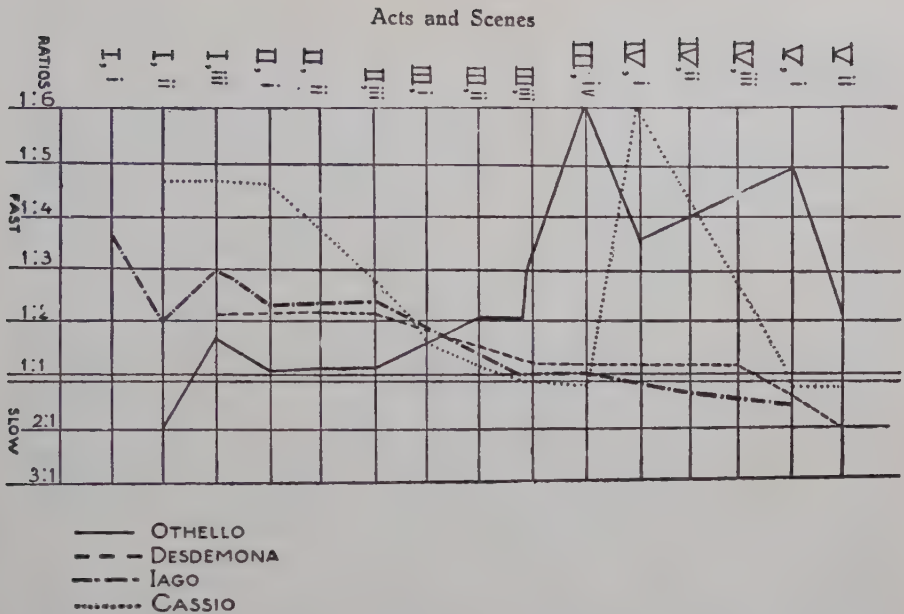
<sup>12</sup> See the present writer: "'Honest Iago'", *PMLA*, XLVI, 724 et seq.

and in the drinking scene.<sup>14</sup> As the age required, he is glib at compliment; and Iago bitterly calls him "a knave very voluble". When Desdemona lands in Cyprus, he delivers a *tour de force* of panegyric; and, in his first two scenes, his talk is indeed "voluble" and fast; and, when he is drunk, he still talks very fluently. As in the case of Desdemona, however, misfortune halts this flow; and, from almost 1 : 5, his tempo falls in Act II, Scene iii to 1 : 3, in the next scene to 1 : 2, and later in the act to 1 : 1. When he discusses his mistress Bianca in Act IV, Scene i, he rebounds to his usual lively speech, and reaches a ratio of 1 : 6; and, in the last act, wounded and distraught, his speech is even slower than 1 : 1. In fact, it is practically as slow as that of the dazed and halting Desdemona. In short, according to the ratio of the evidence, Cassio's tempo is fast in Act II when he compliments Desdemona and in Act IV when he speaks of Bianca, but slow when he has been cashiered and begs his general's wife to intercede and also when he is wounded in Act V. He is, like Desdemona and like all properly educated gentlemen of the age, rapid and free of speech except when misadventure puts a damper on his spirits. In short, the more his choleric personality is frustrated, the slower grows his speech.

The quality also of the evidence supports this theory of a Cassio normally voluble but retarded by disgrace or by his wound. In Act II, Scene i, when his rôle first becomes important, he starts in a colloquial, somewhat varied tempo, and then gives his eulogy of Desdemona in *allegro*, or *presto*, time. This greater speed appears in such notable slurrings as "fortunately", "blazoning", "the essential", "the Ingener", "favorable", "se'nnight's", "powerful", and so forth. After he has been dismissed, he addresses Desdemona in an appropriately humbled and less tripping style, proper to his loss of rank and to her exalted station. He pleads his suit with such unslurred forms as "Bounteous", "Whatever | shall", "never" and "policy", though he does, to be sure, elide "being", "general" and "I'll". He talks with Bianca rather more rapidly at the end of Act III, with slurring of *do*, *will*, *would* and *is*; and, in the next scene, so far as the prose gives evidence, he seems even faster, with such a line as "Faith, I must; she'll rail i' the street else." In the last two scenes, the wounded Cassio, retarding his rhythm, does not slur "ever", or "can|not", or "will", or "am", and slurs "is" only once. Thus the quality, as well as the number, of Cassio's slurrings show his tempo reacting to the company he keeps and to the momentary situation: as the fine gentleman and as the lover of Bianca, he is quick and talkative; as the cast officer seeking reinstatement, and as the wounded soldier, he is deliberate and less choleric.

The following diagram summarizes somewhat crudely the ratios of slow and fast items of evidence; but, as these ratios seem to agree with the quality of the items of evidence, they would seem to have some validity and significance; and they certainly show a striking contrast in tempos between the first and the second half of the tragedy:

<sup>14</sup> See the present writer, "The Choleric Cassio", *Bull. Hist. Med.* VII, 583 *et seq.*



The tempo-patterns, and thus the humor-patterns, of *Othello* seem to be closely integrated with character and situation; and, despite the fact that choler dominates the play, these patterns point telling contrasts in all the major scenes. In the first, Iago's rapid and fairly even speed, the plausible screen for his designs, contrasts with the jerky uncertainty of Roderigo<sup>15</sup> and the outraged dignity that Brabantio expresses in exclamatory outbursts. In the second scene, the calm of Othello's deliberate speech contrasts with the tumult of the action and the rapid delivery of those who seek him. In the third scene, before the Council, the military crisis cries for haste, and this serves to set off Othello's more deliberate tempo. The following scene, which shows the arrival in Cyprus, has Cassio's agile eulogy in contrast to Iago's heavier persiflage. Later the animation of the drinking scene gives way to Cassio's dismissal; and his disgrace slows his speech. Desdemona is also retarded as she reiterates her promise to him, and repeatedly pleads his suit before Othello. This slower tempo prepares them both to play the foil to Othello's fury, as he grows jealous in Act III. Indeed, this contrast between a slow-speaking, almost obstinate, Desdemona and the raving Moor is the major dramatic effect of the play, and, in scene after crucial scene, is poignantly reflected in the tempo. At the end, as the tragedy resolves itself in final catastrophe, all the characters tend to speak more slowly: choler has found outlet in full expression, and even Desdemona's phlegm reaches a new low in exhaustion. All is determined; no emotion can prevail; but, even here, Desdemona's extreme retardation is a foil to Othello's bursts of speed. These contrasts in the tempo-pattern help to make the play "good

<sup>15</sup> See the present writer, "Speech-Tempo in Act I of *Othello*", *cit. sup.*

theatre"; and their integration with plot and character give it the unity of high tragedy.

*Othello* presents a type of phlegm and three types or degrees of choler: the phlegm is slow, but reacts in degree, slower or faster, as the situation reacts on the humor of the character; the choler is fast, grows much faster in *Othello* under the spur of jealousy and slower under the self-control of Iago and under the misfortune of Cassio. Thus one might say that *Othello* is actually more choleric when he is jealous, and Cassio less when he loses his lieutenancy; and, in that case, tempo, at least in this play, can be taken as an index of humor. The sanguine and the melancholic humors and the mercurial complexion would be much more difficult to gauge; for their expression would seem to be not merely a simple matter of fast and slow, but also of *rubato* as opposed to *legato* time, and degrees of smoothness are harder to measure than of speed. The fact, however, that Shakespeare, in one play, has associated humor with tempo of speech leaves open the question with regard to other plays. The integral unity of character, plot and style of speech in *Othello* certainly shows a great advance over the Balcony Scene in *Romeo and Juliet*, in which the contrasting tempos have no basis in character or plot and serve merely as a theatrical device. Shakespeare had learned much in the ten years between the writing of the two tragedies: his art had grown in unity and integration until the very speed of his characters' speech reflected the reaction of events upon their inner selves.

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## Notes and News

### Three Notes on King Alfred's Boethius

The relation of King Alfred's Old English version of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* to the Latin original is set out briefly by W. J. Sedgefield in his edition of 1899 (Introduction, pp. xxv-xxxi), and has been studied in detail by K. H. Schmidt in his Göttingen dissertation of 1934. In his modern English translation of King Alfred's version (1900), Sedgefield has printed in italics the passages in the prose text which do not occur in the Latin original. The way in which he has carried out this distinction, however, is rough and ready rather than accurate; as Schmidt says, "[er] ist aber dabei sehr flüchtig verfahren." In consequence, Alfred is sometimes credited with the authorship of passages of which he is merely the adapter. An instance of this occurs on p. 87 of Sedgefield's translation, where the sentence *Thou that wieldest according to Thy will all things that move, Thou dost Thyself abide ever still and unchanging* is wrongly italicised.

The Old English version (p. 79, 13-16); *þu ðe ealle þa unstillan gesceafta to þinū willan astyrast, I þu self simle stille I unawendedlic þurhwunast*; is clearly a paraphrase of Boethius' *stabilisque manens das cuncta moueri*, "and remaining stable causest everything to be moved" (Bk. III, Metr. IX, 3). — Similarly, the paragraph on p. 167 of S.'s translation, in which Boethius says that there is no sense in God's rewarding the good and chastising the wicked, if they are both so made as to be unable to act otherwise, and that, by the same token, prayer and fasting and alms-giving are equally futile (OE version, p. 142, 28 — p. 143, 3) is clearly based on the close of the third Prose of the fifth Book of the *Consolatio* (Loeb Classical Library, p. 378, 85: *Frustra enim bonis malisque praemia poenaeue proponuntur ...* to p. 380, 101: *Auferetur igitur unicum illud inter homines deumque commercium sperandi scilicet et deprecandi*). — Other instances could be added. On the other hand, Sedgfield has omitted to italicise such a characteristic addition as *Thou knowest that none of these things is thy handiwork: but, if thou must glory, glory in God* (p. 28) — *Hu ne wast þu þ ðu hiora nan ne worhtest? Ac gif þu gilpan wille, gilp Godes* (p. 29).

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Among the departures from the Latin text generally regarded as Alfred's own contributions are the well-known words in the OE version of Bk. II, Metr. V (*Felix nimium prior aetas*): *ne geherde non mon þa get nanne sciphære* (p. 34, 2): *no man had heard tell of the pirate host* (p. 33). At first sight it seems, indeed, as if there is nothing in the Latin that could have suggested the sentence; Schmidt passes it over in silence.<sup>1</sup> Yet it is there, only slightly disguised, in l. 16: *Turic classica saeua tacebant*, "Then the savage trumpets were silent". Alfred, whose knowledge of Latin was far from perfect, mistook *classica* "war-trumpets" for *classis* "fleet", which, in conjunction with *saeua*, he very naturally associated with *sciphære* (from *ship* = ship, and *here* = army), the Danish pirate host which in the course of the century had ravaged the greater part of England. Far from being a mere blunder, however, this rendering brought home to his hearers,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bernhard ten Brink, in his *Geschichte der Englischen Literatur*, Vol. I, 2nd ed., Strassburg 1899, p. 93, observes: "An zahlreichen Stellen ersetzt er antike Anspielungen, deren Sinn er manchmal nicht versteht, durch national-englische: Fabricius, dessen Name ihn an *faber* erinnert, wird zum Schmied Weland; die *classica saeva*, die wilden Kriegstrompeten, die im goldenen Zeitalter nicht ertönten, verwandeln sich in ein *sciphære*, ein Ding, von dem man in jener Zeit der Unschuld (wie in England vor 787) noch nichts erfahren hatte." — and, in a footnote: "*sciphære* ist in den Annalen der stehende Ausdruck für eine dänische Kriegs- und Raubflotte." It does not, however, seem to have occurred to him that *classis* = fleet formed the link between *classica* and *sciphære*, as *faber* = smith did between Fabricius and Weland. (Note also the shift from *tacebant*, "were silent", to "had not been heard of.") — Onions, who has included this fragment in the tenth edition of Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, has no note at all; his glossary merely records the place under *scip-heræ*, fleet.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ne fo we no on ða bisna I on ða bispel for ðara leasena spella lufan, ac forðæmðe we woldon mid gebecnan þa soðfæstnesse, I woldon ðæt hit wurde to nytte ðam geherendum* (p. 101, 10-13) — *We use not these instances and these parables from a love of fables, but because we desire therewith to show forth the truth, and would like it to be of profit to our hearers* (p. 115).

much more vividly than a correct translation could have done, the painful difference between their own times and the "Former Age". The mistake falls into the same category with Alfred's famous mistranslation of *Vbi nunc fidelis ossa Fabricii manent* (Bk. II, Metr. VII, 15): *Hwær<sup>3</sup> synt nu þæs foremeran J þæs wisan goldsmiðes ban Welondes?* (p. 46, 16-17): *Where now are the bones of the famous and wise goldsmith, Weland?* (p. 48) — where it was the association of *Fabricii* with *fabri* (genitive of *faber* = smith) that helped to effect the acclimatization of the Latin original to the English milieu to which it was transplanted.

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When, in the twelfth Prose of the third Book, *Philosophia*, by means of a simple syllogism, proves the non-existence of evil, the bewildered Boethius calls out: "*Dost thou mock me,*" quoth I, "*making with thy reason an inextricable labyrinth, because thou dost now go in where thou meanest to go out again, and after go out, where thou camest in, or dost thou frame a wonderful circle of the simplicity of God?*" ("*Ludisne,*" inquam, "*me inextricabilem labyrinthum rationibus texens, quae nunc quidem qua egrediaris introeas, nunc vero quo introieris egrediare, an mirabilem quendam diuinae simplicitatis orbem complicas?*" — Loeb ed., pp. 290-293). — Alfred rendered this freely, though not ineptly: *Ða cwæð ic: Me þincð þ ðu me dwelle J dydre, swa mon cild deð; lædst me hidres J ðidres on swa þicne wudu ðæt ic ne mæg ut aredian* (p. 100, 4-6). Sedgfield translates: *It seems to me thou art misleading and baffling me, as a child does. Thou leadst me hither and thither into a wood so thick that I cannot get out.* (p. 114), italicising the four last words of the first sentence. Two questions present themselves, one rhetorical, the other conjectural (some might say whimsical). Firstly: should not *as a child does* be corrected to *as one does a child*?<sup>4</sup> — Secondly: did the Anglo-Saxons know that product of arboricultural ingenuity, the maze? Or is this the earliest known occurrence of the motif of *The Babes in the Wood*?

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<sup>3</sup> *Hwæt*, in l. 16 of Sedgfield's OE text, is probably either a scribal or a printer's error for *Hwær*, which heads the corresponding questions in ll. 20 and 21.

<sup>4</sup> Other doubtful translations occur on p. 14: ... *in that I may not rule mine own servants!* where Sedgfield has read *þeowa* (*þeowas* occurs in l. 19) instead of *þeawa*; on p. 30: ... *why dost thou repine* ... — ... *fagnast* ... (p. 31, 4); *Why dost thou regret* ... — ... *fagnast* ... (6); on p. 57: *but God, who created natural friends in kinsmen* — *ac se God þe hi gecyndelice gesceop to gemagū* (p. 54, 12); on p. 133: *several hundred ships* — *sume hundred scipa* (p. 115, 18; the metrical version has *an hund scipa; sume ten gear* in the same sentence is translated by *about ten years*); on p. 116: *being minded to punish him* — *for þære wræce* (p. 116, 12; Sedgfield's own glossary gives the place under *wræc*, exile). The list is not exhaustive. — On, in the above sentence, may mean *in* as well as *into*; see Sedgfield's Glossary s.v. on w.a. — Omissions occur on p. 94, after *and his goodness another*; and on p. 144, after *beasts and men*?

“Al hende ase hak in chete”

A Note on a Middle English alliterative Poem

The line quoted above occurs in an alliterative poem most recently printed by Carleton Brown in his *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, p. 141-3, and entitled “I Repent of Blaming Women”. The author of the poem expresses his remorse for the censure of women in his earlier writings and eulogizes them in the following manner, according to the MS. (l. 25-28):

Wycked nis non þat y wot  
þat durste for werk hire wonges wete;  
alle heo lyuen from last of lot  
& are al hende ase hak in chete.

The interpretation of the last line offers some difficulty. Bøddeker in his *Altenglische Dichtungen des MS. Harl. 2253*, p. 152, prints *hake* for *hak* (similarly already Wright in his *Specimens of Lyric Poetry*, p. 31), and explains the word as meaning *squilla*, i.e. ‘crayfish’. But this quaint translation is taken from old lexicographers, and is doubtless an error as pointed out by Mätzner, who identifies the word with modern *hake*, the name of a fish. The same interpretation occurs in OED, which seems doubtful of its correctness, the example being quoted in brackets. The word *chete* is translated ‘Zelle?’ by Bøddeker and similarly by Mätzner, who adds that the passage seems obscure, and it must be admitted that “as a hake in a cell” is not very intelligible.

The difficulty was solved in a very simple way by Carleton Brown, who reads *hawk* for MS. *hak*. As he translates *chete* by “cottage, chamber, cell”, the meaning attributed to the line by him will be something like “and are wholly courteous like a hawk in a cottage or chamber”. A short time ago the passage was again dealt with in an able and illuminating article on the word *chete* (*Studia neophilologica* XVII (1945), p. 260) by Dr. M. T. Löfvenberg, who quotes the two solutions mentioned above, but does not come to any conclusion as to which is the correct reading, and is still undecided about what *hak* really stands for. In my opinion there can be no doubt that Carleton Brown’s solution is correct, but as it is given without comment, and did not convince the latest commentator on the passage, a few words in support of the reading may be justified.

The proof to my mind of the correctness of Carleton Brown’s emendation is found in the last line of the following passage from *Pearl* (l. 181-184):

More þen me lyste my drede aros;  
I stod ful style & dorste not calle;  
Wyth yȝen open & mouth ful clos,  
I stod as hende as hawk in halle.

The correspondence in form between the last of these lines and the line noted above from the Harley lyric is so close that it seems unquestionable

that we are concerned with one and the same expression in both cases, the only actual difference being the exchange of *halle* for *the* to a certain extent synonymous *chete* in the Harley poem. So in my opinion we need not hesitate to accept the reading *al hende ase hauk in chete* in the latter text.

Yet the meaning of the expression is somewhat dubious. The rare word *chete*, a hapax legomenon in ME literature and probably of dialectal provenance, is to be derived from OE *cȳte*, *cēte*, which is rendered "hut, cabin, cottage, cell". In OE it is chiefly used of a herdsman's hut or an anchorite's cell. Judging by the above-mentioned article on *chete*, we should be nearer to its meaning by translating the word 'hut, cabin' than 'cottage, chamber'. An OE *cyte* or *cete*, which may be the same word or a variant of it, glosses Latin *tugurium* 'hut, cot, cottage (of shepherds, herdsmen)' and *cella*, and is given as a synonym of OE *hulc* 'hut, hovel, cabin'. In ME, and in modern dialects its cognates denote some kind of hut or outhouse, and the sense 'hut' is found of related words in other languages. So it seems doubtful if the translation "as a hawk in a cottage or chamber" gives the correct idea.

As for *hende*, this word is a common epithet in alliterative verse, used in various, mostly vague, conventional senses as "courteous, gracious, gentle, courtly, fair" and is often applied to ladies and persons of noble rank (cf. OED). But in the passage from *Pearl* its meaning is more precise. The situation is that the Pearl poet has found the young maiden whose loss he is mourning, and he now dreads that she may escape before he has had the time to speak to her. Hence "he stood as gentle as hawk in hall", that is in order not to scare the vision away he was as quiet as a hawk housed in the hall of its master. If *hende* has a similar meaning in the Harley passage, the line might be translated, although a little pointlessly, "and are just as quiet or well-behaved as a hawk in its hut", in contrast to its wild ways when used for hawking.

Still another solution is possible if, like Bøddeker, one interprets the poem ironically. In that case the expression *al hende ase ha[u]k in chete* can in effect be taken to mean "not noble or gentle at all", since the usual idea of *hende* and that of *chete* are contradictory. Bøddeker's interpretation of the poem is criticised by Carleton Brown, who points out that poetic extravagance is not necessarily proof of ironic intention, and refers to the debate about women in the *Thrush and the Nightingale*, which can hardly be interpreted ironically. But although this poem and the Harley one are much alike in content, their tone is rather different, the latter being characterized by various extravagant or exaggerated passages and expressions, among others the passage ending with the line under discussion, as noted by Carleton Brown.

The correspondence between this line and the alliterating expression quoted from *Pearl* actually amounts to more than a mere coincidence, and it may in fact be best explained as containing a direct reference to a similar expression known to the author, or to the shorter alliterating formula *hende in halle*, which occurs throughout the ME. alliterative tradition. Six

examples of this shorter phrase are quoted by Oakden in his *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English* from various texts, for instance: *And the hendeste in hawle vndire heuen-riche* Morte Arthure 3879.—*Horn hende in halle* Horn Childe 381. Four more examples of similar phrases can be collected from the Dictionary of Mätzner's *Altenglische Sprachproben*, for instance: *So hardy, so hynd in hall for to se* Destr. of Troy 475. — *Hendeli into halle banne hire þei brouzt* Will. of Palerne 4311. — *Heo comen into halle hændeliche alle* Layamon 13981-2.

Thus it may be that our line should in reality be regarded as a deliberate travesty with ironic intention of an alliterating expression which in its proper context had a courtly meaning quite opposed to the meaning it bears in the Harley lyric.<sup>1</sup>

Lund.

O. ARNGART.

**New Words.** Our request for explanations of a number of new words in the Supplement to Jones's *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (April number, p. 57) has been answered by Mr. J. van Dam, of Eindhoven, who has sent us the following notes:

*Cholesterol*:  $C_{27}H_{45}OH$ , an alcohol of the alicyclic series, found in nerve tissue, gall stones, and in other tissues of the body. It is a white crystalline solid, m.p.  $148.5^{\circ}C$ , soluble in organic solvents and in fats. There are numerous stereoisomers known.

(From: Chambers's Technical Dictionary, 1945, W. & C. Chambers, Ltd., 38 Soho Square, London).

Cholesterol, Mr. van Dam adds, is used for medicinal purposes; m.p. is melting-point.

The same dictionary defines *chronopher* (presumably the same as Jones's *chronofer*) as

The arrangement for automatically switching standard time signals from an observatory to telegraph lines.

According to information obtained by our correspondent from Mr. J. Kemsley, Electrical Engineer, London, there is a medicine sold in England known as *bisurated magnesia*. *Bisurated*, acc. to Mr. K., is probably a portmanteau word, contracted from *bismuth saturated*.

<sup>1</sup> While the above note was in proof, Professor Zandvoort kindly drew my attention to the following parallel occurring in *Piers Plowman*, B-text, Passus V, l. 261: "*I am holden*," quod he, "*as hende as hounde is in kychyne*," where *as hounde in kychyne* similarly implies the negation of *hende*, and which thus goes to support the second alternative proposed above. It also furnishes valuable illustration of the currency of phrases of this kind.

We are indebted to Dr. Frederick T. Wood for a number of valuable observations on some of the other words mentioned in our review. As space does not permit us to reproduce them all, we will summarize the most important items.

*Siren*, in the sense of air warning, goes back to World War I. The same applies to *zoom*, though it was regarded as slang until six or seven years ago. *Deficiency diseases* also was in use long before 1938. *Liquidate* is given in the 1936 Appendix to Wyld's *Universal English Dictionary*. *Purge*, in the political sense, was used at least as early as 1933; and there was "Pride's Purge" of 1648, when Colonel Thomas Pride, a supporter of Cromwell, expelled 143 "undesirable" members from the House of Commons. *Sabotage* is recorded by the Supplement to OED as a verb from 1918. *Local* (public house) is traced back by Eric Partridge in his *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* to 1934. *Allergic*, in the sense of antipathetic, was used by Mr. Winston Churchill in a speech in the House of Commons about 1943, after which it was taken up by newspapers and radio speakers; the COD example "*a. to blondes*" is from an American film some time before this. *Quins* dates from the much-publicised "Dionne Quins" born May 28, 1934. *Slogan* "catchy phrase" is found considerably earlier than 1938, e.g. in Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (1923 Edn.). *Vanishing cream* dates from about 1920. The *Youth Hostels Association* was founded in 1930. *Cattle-rustler* has been used in schoolboy literature of the "Wild West" type for the past twenty years. The *Listener* was founded in 1929, so presumably the word in the sense of one who listens to wireless programmes must be older. *Moving staircase*, far from being a neologism, has been obsolete for many years, its place being taken by *escalator*. *Occasional table* is recorded by OED with a quotation dated 1875. *Rationalisation* (of industry) is at least twenty years old. *Bam-foozle* is probably a variant of *bamboozle* (hoax, mystify). — Z.

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**The Lacnunga.** I am informed that my statement on p. 33 of the April number that Dr. Charles Singer died soon after 1927 is erroneous. Professor Singer is not only well, but has issued many books since 1927. I am pleased to hear that, together with Professor Grattan, he hopes to complete the new edition of the *Lacnunga* this year. I apologize for the mistake.

Nijmegen.

G. STORMS.

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## Reviews

### Seventeenth-Century Sensibility

*Explorations.* By L. C. KNIGHTS. xii + 199 pp. London: Chatto and Windus. 1946. 10s. 6d.

It is a considerable convenience to have available in one volume several of Mr. Knights' essays on seventeenth-century literature which have appeared over a number of years in the pages of *Scrutiny* and elsewhere. The reprinting of his well-known pamphlet *How Many Children had Lady Macbeth?* (1933) provides a useful text for those aware of and grateful for the shift of emphasis in recent Shakespeare criticism from fanciful "character studies" to a more rewarding concentration on the actualities of the verse. Of other papers on Shakespeare, that on the Sonnets is the best illustration of what his publishers rightly term "the findings of a scholarly, disciplined and sensitive mind." A sentence from this chapter will serve as a keynote for Mr. Knights' general approach: "those who are attracted by biographical speculation should be quite sure of what Shakespeare is doing, of the direction and quality of his interests, before they make a flat translation into terms of actual life: that is, even the biographers must be literary critics." As with the biographical background, so with the conventional apparatus of poetic analysis — as witness the author's examination of Sonnet 35 and the discovery of a recognizable kinship with the later blank verse betrayed in "the use of assonance and alliteration to secure a heightened awareness, an increase of life and power." And Mr. Knights goes on to show how Shakespeare "broke away from the formal and incantatory mode" of sonneteering, and to indicate the development of an imagery not simply decorative and yet not fully alive with that concentration of organic energy which works in, say, *Macbeth* with "an intensely physical impact."

The paper on *Bacon and the Seventeenth-Century Dissociation of Sensibility*, too closely argued to yield a summary, should be recommended reading for anyone who desires to enjoy seventeenth-century verse or prose with something akin to a contemporary eye and ear; a really brilliant study of Bacon's prose based largely on the theme that his "figures of speech are forensic, intended to convince or confound", and lack that "vivid feeling for both sides of the analogy such as we find in more representative Elizabethans." It is interesting to note that Mr. Eliot, in the course of his recent "Stop — Caution — Go!" pronouncement on Milton before the British Academy, did not discard his own earlier analysis of this "dissociation of sensibility." Indeed, even if he had done so, it would have to be admitted that the scholarly extension of Mr. Eliot's suggestive essay represented in Professor Knights' work is likely to be more useful (that, I think, is the distinguishing epithet) than some of Mr. Eliot's later criticism.

Other papers in this collection include a study of the poetry of George Herbert and an essay on Restoration Comedy which documents the theme that "if the drama is inferior it is not because it represents — by Elizabethan standards — a limited culture, but because it represents a contemporary culture so inadequately; it has no significant relation with the best thought of the time." There is, however, a possible qualification to this adverse view. I would have conceded the point that Restoration drama can be "insufferably dull", but only as it is normally presented in the modern theatre. A recent Third Programme version of Dryden's *Marriage à la Mode* showed that when produced at a spanking pace, and with actors who can keep the thing light-hearted and "conventional" at the same time, the muck does surprisingly sparkle; listening to Dryden, one was beguiled into much fresher laughter than ever seemed possible from the printed page. With this experience in mind, I would not exclude the possibility that perfect timing in an "intimate" theatre might have kept much of Restoration comedy fresher on the contemporary stage than now seems likely.

Notes on Henry James and on Yeats (reprinted from American periodicals) are included among these scrupulous unprejudiced examples of close textual analysis as a prerequisite for a proper judgment and enjoyment of literature.

Exeter.

S. GORLEY PUTT.

*Milton and the English Mind.* By F. E. HUTCHINSON. xii + 197 pp. Hodder and Stoughton, for The English Universities Press. 1946. 5/— net.

This study of Milton is included in a series entitled 'Teach yourself History', the objects of which are, according to the General Editor, Mr. A. L. Rowse, to open up large historical themes by way of the biographies of great men. Mr. Rowse is wisely of the opinion that it is the duty of the universities to write for the general reading public as well as for a more intimate audience of fellow savants.

The task of the biographer-historian is difficult: he must present a picture of his subject which is comprehensive and clear to the ordinary reader for whom Milton may only be a name; at the same time he must attempt to present his subject in a fresh manner so that he may interest those who have a more than surface knowledge of his material. These two objects are hard to achieve in Milton's case. There are aspects of Milton's life and thought which are difficult for the modern general reader to grasp; they must be explained; but explanations are sometimes tedious, and hold up the main stream of the life described. In the second case, the interest taken in Milton in recent years by literary critics makes it difficult for the more obvious comment to be made without apparent repetition of others' ideas.

Dr. Hutchinson, however, has cleared these difficulties neatly; his book should interest tyro and expert alike. In presenting the life of Milton he succeeds admirably in conveying a sense of continuity. Whether there be crises or *volte-face* in the life of the subject or not this continuity must be maintained; there must be a feeling on the part of the reader that the same thread of life is being unrolled from the same bobbin whatever the pattern woven in the tapestry of public and personal history.

There are various ways in which this continuity can be established in a biography; but that adopted by Dr. Hutchinson gives the optimum result. It can only be achieved under certain conditions. The biographer must have a willing subject, willing, that is, to have helped in advance. There must be autobiography before there can be successful biography. The cynic will murmur that there must be a great sense of self-importance in the subject of the biography and autobiography; but is not a sense of self-importance the first step to greatness beyond which so few men have the ability to rise?

Few men are so willing to help their future biographers as the poets convinced of a poetic mission and greatness, men of developed sensitivity, who endeavour to record their experiences of intellect and emotion as precisely as possible. They must speak of themselves consciously or unconsciously in their writings and the biographer is entitled to find them both in their autobiographical and other writings. He may search elsewhere too. As Professor Garrod has wittily pointed out,<sup>1</sup> a poet is like a man who throws a stone at your window and if he is a poet of any power he breaks it; you run to the window or pursue him down the street because you, quite properly, want to know something more about him than the stone.

The biographer who makes frequent use of quotation from his subject's writings is threshing the rich crop the poet himself harvested. When the poet is more than a Shelleyan student<sup>2</sup> of wisdom sitting alone in his tower studying by lamplight, how much richer the grain to be stored. When he is a Milton or a Yeats, a lyric poet who has had ideals for the creation of a new spirit in his native land, has had experience of politics and become disillusioned, yet gone on to a triumph of poetry of a sterner fibre, how much less useful the chaff appears in comparison, the smallness and self-seeking of ordinary men. Dr. Hutchinson has made frequent and skilful use of Milton's autobiographical passages. This is the mark of the scholarly biographer, who removes his own personality out of the way and thus brings the reader again and again face to face with the man under consideration.

In this work the meetings of Milton and the reader are at times unexpected and this contributes to the freshness of Dr. Hutchinson's approach. He must of necessity restate some of the views of his predecessors of constructive attitude (such as Messrs Charles Williams, L. Pearsall Smith, C. S. Lewis,

<sup>1</sup> H. W. Garrod, *Wordsworth: lectures and essays*, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> As described in *Prince Athanase*, Part II, fragment II. Cf. also *The Revolt of Islam*, fourth Canto, stanza viii. Shelley's own nature is not intended; for the practical elements of his character as well as the poetic the reader is referred to Edmund Blunden's *Shelley*.

C. M. Bowra, Douglas Bush and E. M. Tillyard, whose *Milton*, an excellent work, has not received sufficient praise, perhaps because it is moderate in tone and was published before Mr. Eliot's polemics had stirred up healthy controversy on the subject of Milton's merits and demerits) but he has illustrated these with less obvious yet equally convincing quotations.

In general the quotations in this work are well chosen and are a representative selection, but one aspect of Milton's poetry, the work produced at Horton, seems to have been neglected unduly. Quotation from either the ode 'On the Morning of Christ's Nativity' or *L'Allegro* or *Il Penseroso* would have contributed to an appreciation of the sensual and undoubtedly visual<sup>3</sup> appeal of Milton's early verse more than the stock passage chosen from *Lycidas*.<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Hutchinson's powers of exposition are revealed in his chapters on Milton's doctrine of God and his doctrine of man. He handles complicated matter with an ease that is deceptive; only a deep knowledge of Milton's theology and seventeenth century ideas could present the essential differences between those ideas and our own in such simple manner. These chapters are also provocative and lead the reader back to Milton to discover or rediscover new meanings in the poet's writings and thought. The whole book is heartily recommended for its largeness of vision and compactness of form.

Groningen.

A. NORMAN JEFFARES.

<sup>3</sup> Despite Mr. Eliot's denial of visual imagery ('A Note on the Verse of John Milton', *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, vol. xxi, 1936) to the passage in *L'Allegro* which begins:

While the Plowman near at hand...

<sup>4</sup> It is questionable whether this passage, which describes the various flowers, beginning:

Bring the rathe Primrose that forsaken dies...

conveys the sense that Milton is part of the landscape he describes, a sense far different to the distant vistas of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regain'd*. Cf. Laurence Binyon, 'A Note on Milton's Imagery and Rhythm', *Seventeenth Century Studies presented to Sir Herbert Grierson*, pp. 185-189, where the point is made that Milton is least happy when he is close to the thing described, the example chosen to illustrate this being the flower passage of *Paradise Lost*, Book IX, ll. 424-30. Mr. Binyon's criticism might be upheld by the passage quoted by Dr. Hutchinson from *Lycidas*, but there are other passages to be found in the Horton poems which are not of the order of the magnificent hill top panoramas or seascapes of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regain'd*, but which possess an intimate charm because Milton is part of the foreground of his rolling landscape:

Straight mine eye hath caught new pleasures,  
While the landskip round't measures:  
Russet lawns and fallows gray,  
Where the nibbling flocks do stray;  
Mountains on whose barren breast  
The labouring clouds do often rest;  
Meadows trim, with daisies pied;  
Shallow brooks, and rivers wide ...

(*L'Allegro*, ll. 69-76. Cf. ll. 181-8 of this poem, and the close of *Lycidas* for other examples).

# Current Literature, 1946

## I. Fiction, Drama and Poetry

### (Concluded)

Autobiographies and reminiscences have become fashionable over the past few years. One of the best to appear in the period under review is *Tooting Corner*, by Eric Bligh (Secker & Warburg, 15/-), which gives a most interesting picture of life in a London suburb and a nonconformist environment half a century ago. The hero of the book — if there is one — is the writer's father, a doctor by profession and a nonconformist by religion, and though Mr. Bligh himself disclaims any pronounced religious leanings it is not difficult to see that the tradition of Dissent in which he was brought up has played a conspicuous part in moulding his character and outlook. He is, moreover, a cultured man, well-read in English Literature, with a subtle sense of humour, a flair for realistic portraiture and an appreciation of the past which makes even the less pleasant aspects of it seem interesting and attractive. There are reminiscences of several well-known literary figures, but the really outstanding one is the picture of Landor as Mr. Bligh remembers him in old age. In some respects Mr. Bligh is not a good autobiographer, for he is more interested in other people than in himself, and he is rather given to digression, but he writes an easy, lucid and cultivated style, which makes his book a delight to read. One early reviewer compared it to Sir Edmund Gosse's *Father and Son*, and the comparison is not inapt. There is that same evocation of the spirit of a past age, the same contrast of two generations, the same undercurrent of revolt and rebellion, and, moreover, the spiritual backgrounds of the two writers in their younger days were not dissimilar; but Mr. Bligh is less caustic and more tolerant than was Gosse.

Another very attractive writer of reminiscences of this kind is Esther Meynell, whose book *A Woman Talking* was noticed in *E. S.* of December, 1945. The same author's *Cottage Tale* (Chapman & Hall, 12/6) is in a similar vein, dealing as it does in a prose of grace and charm with village life and customs, country writers and the delights of simple things. Though it is characterised by a wistful nostalgia, a sense of beauty and serenity, and an impatience with the hurried, mechanised, organised and standardised life of the present day, there is nothing of affectation about it. Sincerity and naturalness are its keynotes, but it will probably appeal to the middle-aged and elderly, who have known something of the world Mrs. Meynell portrays, rather than to the younger generation, to whom it must have an appearance of romantic and sentimentalised unreality. Of quite a different type is Mrs. Belloc Lowndes' *The Merry Wives of Westminster* (Macmillan, 12/6), though this too looks to the past, but this time to a busy past, namely the years between 1896 and 1914 when the

author and her husband, living in a house in Westminster, enjoyed the friendship of figures eminent in the political and literary worlds of the day. A number of them appear in the pages of her book. Mrs. Lowndes, a sister of Hilaire Belloc, writes with distinction and facility; she is not without wit, has a store of anecdotes, and her work has a historical as well as a literary interest. Jane Brown, on the other hand, the author of *I Had a Pitch on the Stones* (Nicholson & Watson, 8/6) can lay no claim to literary distinction. Her book, which tells of her own and her husband's experiences and struggles as stall-holders in the Caledonian Market in London, follows upon similar autobiographies of taxi-drivers, waiters, gipsies, land-girls and farm labourers which have appeared in the last few years. Its style is somewhat pedestrian, but it is full of interest and has had a fairly wide reading-public. Books such as this may not possess any great merits as literature but they are often valuable and illuminating social documents.

Horace Annesley Vachell's *Now Came Still Evening On* (Cassel, 10/6) is less a book of reminiscences than a collection of table-talk and stray observations on a diversity of subjects which occur to the writer's mind as he meanders pleasantly along. In fact he declares at the beginning of it "I regard this book as a *causerie* between the man I am and the man I should like to be", and so, without any apology, he proceeds, as he says, "to set down whatever drifts into my headpiece." Having thus given himself a free hand, he wanders amiably on from one subject to another, some important and weighty, some trivial — contemporary manners, contemporary and past politics, food and drink, novels and poetry, education, freedom, culture and domestic life. There is no particular order about them, and what he has to say upon them does not claim to be profound though it is always interesting, while now and then he comes out with an aphorism that imprints itself on the memory. Mr. Vachell's style is easy, discursive and pleasant, and at times inclined to irony; but he is never "serious" in the worst sense of that word. Those who read this book expecting to learn something about Vachell's life will be disappointed, for he tells us little about it; but we do get an insight into what kind of a man it was that wrote *The Hill* and the many other novels that have succeeded it.

It is not easy to decide whether Charles Morgan's *Reflections in a Mirror, Second Series* (Macmillan, 8/6) rightfully belongs to the present survey or to the one which is to follow on criticism and biography. Like its predecessor, it consists mainly of articles contributed to the *Times Literary Supplement* under the general title of "Menander's Mirror", though the texts of two lectures delivered at the Sorbonne (1936) and at the Royal Institution (1941) respectively are included. As would be expected, many of these essays are on literary themes or on subjects closely related to them, but there is also ample evidence that the writer has an appreciation of nature, the countryside, the simple but abiding things of life, and the things of the spirit. There are, for instance, essays on Spring, Autumn, The Village Church and Christmas Festivities; but the most important and

significant of all the twenty-three are those entitled "Ideas at War" and "The Constant Things", for in these not only does the writer penetrate to the real, vital and fundamental issues of the present times, but their spirit permeates the rest of the book. "Art", he writes in the former of these two essays, "is greater even than the greatest of its works; the Spirit of Man greater than all human manifestations of it; the truth than its aspects. The value of the work of art and the man — and above all of our love for them — lies, not in their effect upon us but in that which gives universality to their uniqueness, in their being emanations of the First Cause." It is this belief and this faith also (though expressed in other terms) which emerges from the essay on "The Constant Things", where a middle-aged traveller, in the course of a discussion with a young officer in the Wrens, had expressed the fear that "it isn't only the changeable things that are changing, but the unchangeable as well." Needless to say, Mr. Morgan's style is always careful, cultured and distinctive; his quiet manner, his freedom from all affectation, his obvious sincerity and breadth of vision, make him one of the most significant of modern English writers.

Foremost amongst the plays of the year is Sean O'Casey's *Oak Leaves and Lavender* (Macmillan, 6/—). While one feels that this piece falls short of some of O'Casey's earlier work and is lacking in that naturalness, verve and spontaneity characteristic of such a play as *Juno and the Paycock* or *The Shadow of a Gunman*, it nevertheless has its merits. Superficially a comedy, it is in reality a serious play and rises at the end to a tragic climax which is truly dramatic. The setting is a country mansion at the time of the Battle of Britain; the central figures are Dame Hatherleigh (a fanatical disciple of British Israel) and her sanely humorous Irish butler; but these are not actually the hero and heroine of the play. Rather they are the pivots around which revolve a medley of characters and types that make the mansion a microcosm of contemporary Britain: evacuees, land-girls, Air Force officers, Home Guards, Air-Raid Wardens, Government inspectors of one kind and another, special constables, simple farmers, and a typical middle-class resident of a typical English provincial town. There is not a great deal of subtlety about the portrayal of any of them — indeed the majority strike one as caricatures — yet collectively they do produce a realistic picture in which the individual is subsidiary to the composite impression. Indeed one might almost say that Mr. O'Casey had adapted the technique of impressionist painting to the requirements of the drama. There is a sense of hurry and bustle, confusion and muddle, conflict of motives, great-heartedness and meanness, piety and profanity, idealism and prejudice, all inextricably mixed and interwoven. The play is rich in incident, moves quickly and is suffused with that sparkling humour of which the writer has long proved himself a master. But, as we have said, there is also tragedy. Dame Hatherleigh's son, a young R. A. F. officer on whom she dotes, is shot down and killed near his home while trying to beat off the raiders, and his *fiancée*, a land girl, dies in trying to rescue him from the

wreckage of his blazing machine. Some reviewers and critics have professed to see pessimism in it, but it is difficult to draw this conclusion, at least from a reading.<sup>3</sup> Rather one would say that the impression left is that of sober optimism and a persistence of faith in the immortality of beauty, love and happiness. That is the note on which the play ends. It is expressed by the broken-hearted, bereaved Dame Hatherleigh as she fades out of Time into Eternity, to join the shadows of those who have been and who are yet to come :

"Is the crimson cherry brown? The apple-blossom black? The sky for ever grey? No, no! The cherry is as red as ever; the apple-blossom rosy; and the sky is often blue; sweet lavender rears tops of gentle purple; many a sturdy oak shall strut from a dying acorn; and a maiden's lips shall quiver for a kiss ... The lavender will bloom again, and oak leaves laugh at the wind in the storm. ... And every home will carve a niche for a graceful coloured candle. The scent of lavender is in every breath I draw, and the dancers are very close. Wait a moment for me, friends, for I am one of you and will join you when I find my son. ... The lavender shall bloom again! The lavender shall bloom again!"

It is perhaps the poet's vision; but then Mr. O'Casey is a poet, and there are decided poetic elements in this play.

Several other new plays have appeared upon the London stage, and some of them have been published, but few can lay claim to any remarkable literary merits. A number of older plays have been revived, amongst them several of Shakespeare, T. W. Robertson, Oscar Wilde and Bernard Shaw. And the mention of Shaw prompts a note on the ten-volume edition of his works published by Penguin Books (1/- per volume) to celebrate his ninetieth birthday. The titles included are *Androcles and the Lion*, *Pygmalion*, *Major Barbara*, *The Doctor's Dilemma*, *Plays Pleasant*, *Plays Unpleasant*, *Plays for Puritans*, *Man and Superman*, *Saint Joan*, and *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God and Other Tales*. All the plays are complete with prefaces. One hundred thousand copies of each title were printed, but many have already sold out. *Back to Methuselah* was included in the Penguin Books some few years ago. It has now been added to the World's Classics series (3/6 net) and Shaw has written a special postscript for this edition.

Amongst the poetry of the year first place should be given to Edith Sitwell's *Song of the Cold* (Macmillan, 7/6). Many of the pieces included in this volume have appeared previously, but there are three new poems, including the title-piece, and a few early ones which have never been printed before. In the main the verses are the products of the war years; none of them, however, can be called a "war poem", since the conflict of 1939—1945 is not in any direct sense the subject, yet they do record the response of the poet's mind and feelings to the war-situation. Through them all runs constantly the theme of death, old age, cold, decay and dark-

<sup>3</sup> I have not seen the play acted. On the stage it may affect one differently.

ness, and behind them all is the sense of catastrophe, desolation and sorrow. But there is no despondency, for Miss Sitwell is too true a poet to have lost faith in the eternity of beauty and truth. There is rather a mood of courageous resignation, but resignation lightened by expectancy. Thus in the opening stanza of the invocation the note is struck :

I who was once a golden woman like those who walk  
In the dark heavens — but am now grown old  
And sit by the fire, and see the fire grow cold, —  
Watch the dark fields for a re-birth of faith and wonder.

Perhaps the secret of life is the redemptive power of suffering. As the cold gives way to warmth and the snows of winter to the sunshine of spring, so hatred gives way to love, sorrow to joy, death to life and resurrection, and in the concluding poem entitled "Two Loves" the volume closes with a query which, one feels, is not a query of despair:

Of One who contracted His Immensity  
And shut Himself in the scope of a small flower  
Whose root is clasped in darkness ... God the span  
Of the root and the light-seeking corolla ... with the voice of Fire I cry —  
Will He disdain that flower of the world, the heart of Man?

As always, Miss Sitwell uses symbolism rather than direct statement; but in these her latest verses her symbols are more concrete and far less elusive than in her earlier work. Her writing is forceful, vivid, colourful, with thought, feeling and form all carefully blended. It may be mentioned in passing that Miss Sitwell was chosen by the B.B.C. as the first of the modern English poets to be read, introduced and discussed in a series in its new Third Programme, and anyone who heard some of these later pieces read then could not fail to be impressed by their subtlety of rhythm and their clever matching of form with theme. It would not be surprising if future criticism found in *The Song of the Cold* the summit of Miss Sitwell's achievement.

The *Collected Poems of Robert Graves* was noticed in the survey of Current Literature for 1938. The same author's *Poems, 1938—1945* (Cassell, 5/-) comprises the pieces written since that date, and one must confess that, in comparison with the contents of the earlier volume, they are a little disappointing. Marked by a clearness of imagery, a precision of diction and a certain detached intellectualism which at times amounts almost to aloofness, they are often tinged with the bewilderment and disillusion so common to much of recent literature. Some are love poems; others lament the blind destructiveness of man's lust for power, his lack of vision, the shortsightedness and selfishness of his aims, and his apparent inability to transcend mere worldly or personal interests. Typical of this is the poem "1805", where the funeral of Lord Nelson, the hero of Trafalgar, serves to bring out the unheroic qualities — the petty jealousy, the spite, the back-biting, the slander, the thwarted ambition, the susceptibility to flattery — of

friends and enemies alike, and even of the dead admiral himself. Yet it would be a mistake to call Mr. Graves a pessimist or a cynic; and even if he were, that, of course, would not be a valid criticism of his poetry. Rather he is a Stoic, but — and herein lies the chief shortcoming of his verses — a Stoic at second-hand. His Stoicism strikes one as conscious and therefore a little unreal. It is a matter of artifice rather than of natural temperament. The tone of so many of these verses is caustic, bitter, almost contemptuous, and even those which are not included in the small section headed "Satires" are conceived in a satirical vein. There is a certain cold, grim starkness about the diction; the words and phrases strike one as "congealed" or artificially frozen (it is difficult to find a more expressive term to describe them), while the style is epigrammatic and condensed; but once again it is not the natural, vigorous, expressive, polished condensation of a Landor. "To write poetry for others than poets," he declares in a foreword, "is wasteful" — which may possibly be true, but such a remark seems to betray the author's attitude to his public and to suggest a certain self-conscious superiority in his writing, that makes one suspect that Robert Graves the poet is a rather different person from Robert Graves the man.

The place of Victoria Sackville West in English poetry is by this time well established, and to turn from Robert Graves to her latest work *The Garden* (Michael Joseph, 8/6) is to find oneself in an entirely different world. With the passing of the years, it is true, her technique and style have become rather more modernist, yet her mood has not altered greatly; it remains in all its essentials that of *The Land*, which was written just twenty years ago. The general scheme of the poem, too, is the same: an introductory song, followed by four cantos entitled Winter, Spring, Summer and Autumn. In the earlier work she declared,

I sing the cycle of my country's year,  
I sing the tillage, and the reaping sing,  
Classic monotony, that modes and wars  
Leave undisturbed, unbettered, for their best  
Was born immediate, of expediency.

In her new poem her canvas is smaller; for the broad panorama of the countryside she substitutes the more confined and secluded territory of the garden, where, in the midst of war, she finds still the simplicities of nature and some of the great fundamental truths of life which war would seem to deny.

Small pleasures must correct great tragedies,  
Therefore of gardens in the midst of war  
I boldly tell .....  
Daring to find a world in a lost world,  
A little world, a little perfect world  
With owlet vision in a blinding time.

Moralising, prophecy, conscious didacticism are all alike absent from this work. There are, on the other hand, a quietness, a modesty, an unassuming

restraint of diction and of feeling which give the poem its appeal and attractiveness. Miss Sackville-West is in the true line of English poets of nature and the countryside — not the countryside of Wordsworth, but that of John Clare, Robert Bloomfield and Edmund Blunden. Though, as we have said, she is not untouched by the spiritual conflicts of the contemporary world nor unaffected by present-day trends in literary technique, she belongs to the traditional rather than the revolutionary or experimental schools. She is not one of those writers who believe that new times and new experiences necessarily demand new modes of expression; she found her style some twenty years ago, and in the main she has remained faithful to it ever since. Perhaps this is what gives her that appearance of ease, confidence and quiet assurance which so many of our writers nowadays seem to lack.

Edwin Muir is not amongst the best known or the most widely read of modern English poets, nor has his muse been very prolific, but all that he has written has been of a high quality and characterised by originality and a strikingly individualistic note. His latest volume, *The Voyage and Other Poems* (Faber & Faber, 6/—) contains thirty-nine poems. None of them is very long, but all are marked by restraint, sincerity of feeling and expression, and a careful if sometimes eccentric choice of words. There is no affectation about these verses, nor is one conscious, on reading them, of any effort on the part of the writer. It would be wrong to describe them as didactic, yet nevertheless, arising as they do from the stress and strain, the hopes and fears of the past few years, they do reflect moral problems, conflicts and preoccupations. Mr. Muir is a combination of the Stoic and the mystic. With dignity and reserve, and in a style devoid of all sensationalism or extremes, he expresses himself very largely through symbols. Indeed, each poem is, in its essentials, a brief allegory or parable. In the verses on the fortress that was betrayed for gold, against which enemy within the gates there was no defence, he dramatises the essential ethical problem of all times; and in the title-piece, "The Voyage", he gives expression to his faith in the fundamentals of love, truth, beauty and spiritual integrity, those stars which can be relied upon to guide our storm-tossed ship to port even when it is adrift upon unknown seas. While these poems are individual in form, style and language, and while they spring from a personal experience of, and response to, life, the individual and the personal merge themselves into the universal. Mr. Muir has an assured mastery of his own emotions and of the medium in which he works. He eschews alike enthusiasm and cynicism; he refuses to deal in superlatives or hyperbolical statement; there is about his verses an air of pensiveness and calm reflection, a quietness and confidence, in which lies his strength.

Another notable volume (though again but a slender one) is Dylan Thomas' *Deaths and Entrances* (Dent, 3/6). Temperamentally this poet is very different from either Edwin Muir or Miss Sackville-West. He is less certain of himself — at least, so one feels — and his artistry is a little too conscious. He gives the impression that he is still in the process of

evolving a style and has not yet found one in which he can express himself naturally and with ease. Yet his work is far from lacking in technical skill, for there is a forcefulness, a vigour, and withal a strangely quiet melody about it, while it is instinct with a strong imaginative element, which, however, is not always sufficiently disciplined. Unobtrusively alliterative, his versification is characterised by internal rhyme, a liberal use of assonance and a readiness to experiment in metrical forms. As the title of his volume would suggest, he is concerned with no trivial themes but with problems of life, death and immortality, but here once again, one feels, he is never quite effective because he is never quite sure of the effect he wishes to achieve. Sometimes he expresses a qualified hope and optimism, sometimes he borders on despair, at other times he is inclined to become introspective and mildly morbid. Symbolism, imagery and the evocative phrase play a large part in his verse, and the influence of the language and content of the Bible are more than once apparent. Not infrequently they jar with other phrases and other symbols which have their origin in modern psychology. Dylan Thomas is still, comparatively speaking, a young man. In his present volume there is a great deal that is full of promise but he has yet to get over his experimental stage and to find or develop a style of versification which suits his particular genius and will give clarity and precision to his work.

Herbert Palmer belongs to the older school and will almost certainly be remembered for the verses that he wrote before 1939 and for his critical work *Post-Victorian Poetry*. His new collection, *A Sword in the Desert* (Harrap, 6/-) shows a sad falling away. It is rather like a voice from a far-off world, but a voice which comes faltering and uncertain. The pieces contained in it are the products of the last ten years and, like most of this writer's poetry, are characterised by simplicity of form and diction and an adherence to traditional modes and technique, while the theme of most of them is the simple but fundamental things of the spirit and the homely and simple virtues. To all intents and purposes Mr. Palmer is still the unsophisticated son of the Nonconformist manse that he described in his autobiography *The Mistletoe Child*; but this son of the Victorian manse has strayed into the modern world where he feels bewildered, puzzled, dazed and shocked by the evil and inhumanity which he sees around him, by the changing values and the crumbling fabric of present-day society. That is the impression one gains from reading his latest verses, which for all their undoubted sincerity seem a little unreal and remote from life as his earlier poetry did not. Nor are his rhymes always faultless or his choice of diction impeccable, while, to be quite candid, some of his lyrics verge upon the trivial both in subject and treatment.

Dorothy Wellesley is also a poet with a long and distinguished record of work. *Desert Wells* (Michael Joseph, 6/-) contains verse behind which there is undoubtedly a genuine lyrical impulse; yet one feels that it fails to "get over". There is about these pieces a sense of frustration, as though the writer were aspiring to something which she never succeeds in

reaching, or as though, despite her command of language, she found difficulty in conveying her feelings in words. Consequently the reader is conscious of something of a chasm between himself and the poet, though it is a chasm which is narrowed by repeated reading.

Four collections of the works of the earlier poets call for mention. An enlarged edition of *The Poetical Works of Matthew Arnold*, with an Introduction by the late Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, has appeared in the Oxford Standard Authors (O.U.P., 6/—). The earlier edition comprised all the poems published by Arnold up to 1867; now those which appeared after that date have been added, as well as the translations of fragments of the *Iliad* which were included in the lectures *On Translating Homer* (1861). There are also additional notes, a chronology of Arnold's poetry, and twelve pages of bibliographical and textual apparatus.

Then there are *The Poetical Works of Rupert Brooke*, Edited by Geoffrey Keynes (Faber & Faber, 8/6), a new edition of *The Poems of Francis Thompson* (Hollis & Carter, 15/—) and *Fifty-one Poems by Mary Webb* (Jonathan Cape, 5/—). Mary Webb was, of course, better known as a novelist, but these poems have been discovered amongst her papers and in periodicals and published by her literary executors. Geoffrey Keynes' *Rupert Brooke* contains all the poems of Brooke hitherto known together with some juvenilia which have not hitherto been printed. All three of these books were issued very late in the year and the present writer has not yet had an opportunity of examining them.

Two noteworthy volumes of "Selections" have appeared. *The Clearing House* (Hodder & Stoughton, 12/6) is a selection from the writings of John Buchan made by his widow, Lady Tweedsmuir, and prefaced by an essay from the pen of Gilbert Murray. Extracts from his novels, short stories, historical writings and biographical works are included. These, of course, are not a substitute for the works themselves, but they do provide an excellent introduction to them and make us realise how many-sided was the genius of this remarkable Scotsman who, trained for the Bar, made his name in literature, entered politics, and finally became Governor-General of Canada. As for Gilbert Murray's graciously written preface, besides being informative and interpretative it has literary merits which should ensure it a place in some future anthology of that author's own prose.

*Oscar Wilde, Selected Works*, Edited by Richard Aldington (Heinemann 15/—), contains not only the better known works such as *Salome*, *De Profundis*, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, *The Importance of Being Earnest* and some of the poems, but Wilde's essay on "The Critic as Artist", a collection of sayings and anecdotes of or about Wilde, and twelve hitherto unpublished letters. Mr. Aldington's introductory essay, which attempts to assess Wilde's place in English literature, is well balanced, at times brilliant, and always stimulating.

During the past few years a number of new literary periodicals have sprung up while a few others which suspended publication on the outbreak

of war or soon after have been resuscitated. From the point of view of the present survey two merit attention, while others will be referred to in the next article. *New Writing and Daylight*, 1946 is the first issue of this magazine to appear from the house of John Lehmann (10/6). It contains both original and critical work, including a discussion by six well-known authors of the future of fiction, and it is proposed to maintain this balance between the two in the future issues. As one would suppose from the title, its main interest is in the writers of the very modern school. *The Mint*, Edited by Geoffrey Grigson (Routledge, 8/6) is more catholic. There are poems by W. H. Auden, a paper by Mr. Grigson himself on the Dorset poet William Barnes, some unpublished verses and fragments of the early nineteenth century poet of the countryside, John Clare; a discussion by Christopher Salmon of written and spoken English, a consideration of the language of Hollywood by James T. Farrell; some pages of autobiography by Sean O'Casey, an essay by H. W. Häusermann on W. B. Yeats's Idea of Shelley; and other contributions by Nikolaus Pevsner, Graham Greene, Rhys Davies, Owen Barfield and W. J. Turner. The editor claims that his journal is out to blow the trumpet of no school and to advocate no special theory of art and literature. Its object is to bring together into one periodical creative writing and contemporary criticism and so attempt to bridge the gap which for the past two or three decades has existed between the two. The first number has certainly a distinguished company of contributors and if the succeeding volumes can maintain the same high standard, *The Mint* should become one of the foremost of our literary miscellanies.

Each year death takes its toll of writers. During 1946 the following have died: Edward Thompson, novelist, poet and playwright (April 28th.); N. Booth Tarkington, American playwright and novelist (May 19th.); Ernest Rhys, poet, essayist and Editor of the Everyman's Library (May 25th.); Gertrude Stein, novelist (July 27th.); H. G. Wells (August 13th.); Harley Granville-Barker (August 31st.) and W. J. Turner, poet, critic and Literary Editor of *The Spectator* (November 18th.). All have rendered distinguished service to English letters in their day and their passing is a serious loss.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

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*Die Bildwelt Thomas Deloneys.* By MARGRIT ELISABETH HABLÜTZEL. (Swiss Studies in English XVI.) 119 pp. Bern: A. Francke AG. 1946. Sw. Fr. 8.—.

This study consists of a descriptive analysis of Deloney's imagery, followed by a comparison of the results with those obtained by other investigators for contemporary authors and Chaucer. There is an excellent bibliography containing, as regards Deloney, some welcome additions to the very meagre information of the CBEL. There is little on Deloney himself or the significance of his work; in fact, it may be said that Miss Hablützel confines herself rather too rigidly to description. Thus the sub-title, "ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnis von Zeitgeist und Gattungsgeschichte der Englischen Renaissance" seems a little ambitious. But in view of the lack of contact with England during the preparation of this study the limitation was perhaps wise, and many a suggestive remark shows that Miss Hablützel has not neglected her background. The study undoubtedly contains valuable material especially as regards the psychological side of the development of late Elizabethan literature. — J. S.

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## Michael Drayton

Once it was unfairly remarked about Dante that a large amount of his popularity in Italy was due to the topical references to Italian towns, families, etc. scattered throughout the *Divina Commedia*. This, which is only an amusing paradox as regards Dante, is nothing less than sober truth when we come to speak of Drayton's *magnum opus*, *Poly-Olbion*. While the late J. William Hebel, to whose industry we owe the tercentenary edition of the works of Michael Drayton<sup>1</sup>, was editing *Poly-Olbion*, he found that copies of this poem which common report represented as being little read although widely known by name, were in continuous demand at the British Museum, and not only he received query after query from other students of the poem, but was able to form new friendships during his frequent visits to libraries to consult rare editions, a common love for *Poly-Olbion* supplying the basis. Can one love *Poly-Olbion* any more than one would the Brobdingnagian nurse in *Gulliver's Travels*? Because if the shape of a poem is there, and if the name of verse can be given by courtesy to its jog-trotting alexandrines, little do we find there of the poetic spirit, although Prof. Hebel says that "the poetry, not often aspiring to lyrical values", is, all the same, "quiet, sure, and strong in its fitness to the subject matter." But the topographical character of the poem makes it a favourite with antiquarians: "The poem yields information, not the less interesting because it is in verse form, about earlier conceptions of British history; about local legends, beliefs, and customs, about sports, pastimes and natural history; about farming, industry, and commerce — information to be checked with Selden's notes, and with Drayton's chief source, Camden's *Britannia*." "Perhaps the best way to enjoy *Poly-Olbion* is to make the poem a companion on a tour in England and Wales." It is curious that the characteristic of being a versified Baedeker, which adverse critics urged against D'Annunzio's *Città del silenzio*, should be considered a merit by a lover of Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*. But how far does the poem succeed in "re-creating the romantic spell of Elizabethan England" is open to question. Doubtless the poem is quaint: "many pages will seem but a versified map overcrowded with nymphs of river, hill, and woodland", and old maps are quaint, although the quaintness of shepherds seated on hillocks, of towns represented like

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of William Drayton*, edited by J. WILLIAM HEBEL, Oxford, Printed at the Shakespeare Head Press St. Aldates and published for the Press by Basil Blackwell. Vol. I, 1931, pp. xii + 507, 13 illustrations; Vol. II, 1932, pp. xii + 599, 8 illustrations; Vol. III, 1932, pp. viii + 439, 6 illustrations; Vol. IV, 1933, pp. xvi + xv\* + 589, 4 illustrations and 30 engraved maps; Vol. V, Introductions. Notes, Variant Readings edited by KATHLEEN TILLOTSON and BERNARD H. NEWDIGATE, 1941, pp. xxx + 316. 1 portrait. Price £7.17.6 the set of five volumes.

ladies balancing diminutive castles on their heads, and of naked nymphs emerging newt-like from meandering rivers, is apt to pall no less than, in those old maps, the full-blown sailing ships bestriding the main. Any passage of the poem is enough to convey an idea of the whole; I choose at random this from Song XX :

These Nymphs trick'd up in tyers, the Sea-gods to delight :  
Of Currall of each kind, the blacke, the red, the white ;  
With many sundry shels, the Scallop large, and faire :  
The Cockle small and round, the Periwinkle spare,  
The Oyster, wherein oft the pearle is found to breed,  
The Mussell, which retaines that daintie Orient seed :  
In Chaines and Bracelets made, with linkes of sundry twists,  
Some borne about their wasts, their necks, some on the wrists.  
Great store of Amber there, and Jeat they did not misse ;  
Their lips they sweetned had with costly Ambergris.

This is one of the shortest and more bearable of Drayton's inventories: a long one will be found in Song XXIV, an interminable catalogue of Briton and Saxon saints, hermits, missionaries, etc. I imagine an antiquarian may grow very fond of such things, just as one would treasure auction sale catalogues; there is almost nothing on earth which may not be envisaged as worth collecting: one can collect pebbles as well as precious stones, match-box pictures no less than old paintings. At its best Drayton's poem is like one of the early museums or *Wunderkammern*, full of curious fossils, skeletons of crocodiles, ostrich-eggs, and some objects of vertu to which the term of art would be more appropriate.

*Poly-Olbion* was just the kind of work one would expect a man like Drayton to take up with enthusiasm. Such a gigantic task supplied a vent to his insatiable thirst of versifying, like a *Chimaera bombinans in vacuo*. He had tried every literary genre, and, if we are to credit the words of a contemporary, William Browne, had succeeded in all :

Drayton, amongst the worthi'st of all those,  
The glorious *Laurell*, or the *Cyprian Rose*  
Have ever crown'd, doth claime in every Lyne,  
An equall honor from the sacred *Nyne* :  
For if old *Time* could like the restlesse *Maine*,  
Roule himselfe backe into his Spring againe,  
And on his wings beare this admired *Muse*,  
For *Ovid*, *Virgil*, *Homer*, to peruse :  
They would confesse, that never happier *Pen*,  
Sung of his *Loves*, his *Countrey*, and the *Men*.

He had echoed all the fashions of the past and anticipated a few of the future, from the day in which he had petulantly begged his schoolmaster: "Make me a poet." To begin with, his very conception of the poet, which included the historian and the antiquary, dated from the day of Ronsard and the *Pléiade*. His first work, *The Harmonie of the Church* (1591), strikes one immediately as old-fashioned: the style recalls certain tiresome

tricks of some of the translators of Seneca<sup>2</sup>; he followed in the wake of *The Shepheardes Calender*, then in its fourth edition, with *The Shepherds Garland* (1593), in a period when "writing pastorals was only less obvious than writing sonnets"; he published his first sequence of sonnets at the height of the vogue following Watson, Sidney, Daniel, Constable, Barnes, Lodge and Fletcher; and in his sonnets, although perhaps no single phrase can be said to be a translation of a continental sonnet,<sup>3</sup> as is frequently the case with Elizabethan sonneteers, there is nothing which is not conventional and characterless; with *Endimion and Phoebe* (1595) he was earlier than usual in catching the fashion of the erotic narrative poem, of which *Venus and Adonis* is the most conspicuous instance; at the same time he fell under the influence of Du Bartas. Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond* (1592) had started a vogue for historical legends, and Drayton responded at once with a series of *Legends*, *Peirs Gaveston*, with its flowing and nerveless verse, being the first and longest of the set. He is alternatively haunted by Marlowe, Shakespeare, Daniel, and brings all his inspirers down to the humdrum level of his own Muse. Minor writers are often more interesting for the student of manners and fashions than great authors; but the student of Elizabethan vogues, I am afraid, would hardly be more gratified by perusing Drayton's poems than, say, a student of the Regency would find his appetite satisfied by a water-gruel diet of Pierce Egan's *Life in London*. Occasionally the bathos of the poet affords a comic relief, as when in *Matilda the faire* the heroine is thus urged to poison herself:

I passe not I, how ere thou like the motion,  
Have done at once, and quickly take the Potion.

In *Robert of Normandy* Drayton emulated the *Gerusalemme liberata*, in *Mortimeriados* (1596) he imitated Daniel's *Civil Wars* (1595): the poem drags on for nearly three thousand lines, of which the antiquarian may perhaps treasure the description of an elaborate bed in the crowded style of decoration loved by the Elizabethans:

A stately Bed under a golden tree,  
Whose broad-leav'd branches covering over all,  
Spread their large Armes like to a Canapy,  
Dubbling themselves in their lascivious fall,  
Upon whose top the flying Cupids spraule,  
And some, at sundry cullored byrds doe shute,  
Some swarving up to get the golden fruite.

---

<sup>2</sup> The influence of these translations stretches as late as the *Heroical Epistles*; in *Elinor Cobham to Duke Humphrey*, l. 178, the Bacchantes are called "Bacchus raging frantic Nunnes", and Studley had called them "Bacchus' bedlem priests."

<sup>3</sup> Amour 38 of *Ideas Mirrour*, "If chaste and pure devotion of my youth," is praised by Janet G. Scott, *Les Sonnets élisabéthains*, p. 148, for its "style doux et uni", but the sonnet follows a well-known pattern, Petrarca's "S'una fede amorosa, un cor non finto", Michelangelo's "S'un casto amor, s'una pietà superna".

A counterpoynt of Tyssue, rarely wrought,  
Like to *Arachnes* web, of the Gods rape,  
Which with his lifes strange history is wrought, etc..

In one instance only Drayton departed from the lines of his contemporaries, and this initiative proved disastrous for him. The favourite subject for poets in the spring of 1603 were the death of Elizabeth and the accession of James. In his "gratulatorie poem" *To the Majesty of King James*, a conventional piece of journalism, Drayton omitted all reference to the deceased Queen and this omission, instead of winning him favour, brought about his disgrace. Mrs. Tillotson remarks (Vol. V, p. 54): "It is indeed ironical that the one occasion when Drayton was ahead of fashion should have nearly ruined his career as a poet and left a bitterness which lasted the rest of his life." Should we seek for novelty in an epic poem like *The Barons Warres*, which, covering a similar ground to Daniel's *Civil Wars*, follows, besides this poet, the usual models for an epos, Virgil, Lucan, etc.? Images like the following one are the stock-in-trade of every epic poet :

Pale Death beyond his wonted Bounds doth swell,  
Carving proud flesh in Cantles out at large ;  
As Leaves in Autumne, so the Bodies fell,  
Under sharpe Steele, etc.

*England's Heroicall Epistles* (1619) proved the most popular of Drayton's works, and earned for him the title of "our English Ovid". Mrs. Tillotson praises Drayton's handling of the *genre*, which she finds subtler than Ovid's ("the moment of correspondence is chosen for its maximum emotional value"), and the perfect control of the decoration. Their chief importance lies, however, in the epigrammatic antithesis of the couplet; on this development which was to have a far-reaching consequence in English poetry I am going to say a few words further on. In the *Heroicall Epistles*, then, Drayton, that whispering-gallery of the voices of other poets, actually seems to capture a voice from the future, the voice of Pope! From another point of view the *Heroicall Epistles* command attention: as Mrs. Tillotson remarks (V, p. 100), "it may be said emphatically that in this work Drayton's imaginative treatment of history is worthy, both in conception and execution, to rank beside the historical plays of any of his contemporaries except Shakespeare, and much above any treatment of history in verse narrative." Occasionally descriptive passages are remarkable for their florid Elizabethan style, like this description of the Moon in *Charles Brandon to Mary, the French Queene* (l. 129 ff.):

As CYNTHIA, from her Wave-embattel'd Shrowds,  
Op'ning the West, comes streaming through the Clouds,  
With shining Troupes of Silver-tressed Starres,  
Attending on her, as her Torch-bearers ;  
And all the lesser Lights about her Throne,  
With admiration stand as lookers on ;  
Whilst she alone, in height of all her pride,  
The Queene of light along her sphere doth glide.

In that same year which saw the publication of the *Heroicall Epistles*, we find Drayton intent on polishing and remodelling his sonnets with numerous and minute revisions. An almost unique case in the annals of literature, he was an indefatigable craftsman, for all his facility to bend, like a reed, whatever way the wind of fashion blew. Had Drayton been a great poet, what wealth of material would be at our disposal for the study of his technique! As it is, the abundance of variant readings supplied by the editors does not invite to a close study. In some cases, as in the recast *Pierce Gaveston*, which exists in five distinct forms, all the additions in the 1595-6 text are "irrelevant to the narrative and indeed have very little content of any kind: they are apostrophes, sententiae, images, all in the same hypnotically rocking style, and interesting as illustrating the extreme of dilution possible in Elizabethan verse." This remark of the editor makes one rather sceptical about the importance of variant readings in an author like Drayton.

In 1619 the sonneteering vogue had long died out, and Drayton's pertinacity was decidedly unfashionable. Only a progress in excellence could justify such obstinacy, but of all the sonnets one only has found its way into the anthologies, the famous *Idea* 61, proclaimed by Rossetti the best sonnet in the language, "Since there's no helpe, Come let us kisse and part". Lisle Cecil John's criticism (in *The Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences, Studies in Conventional Conceits*, Columbia University Press, 1938, p. 175) sounds final: "Good poet [or should one say versifier?] though he sometimes could be, his sonnets often come off badly when placed side by side with those of his fellow craftsmen, for his quest for originality led him to unjustifiable hyperbole. His faults, however, probably spring from a lack of incentive other than a desire for poetic renown." Miss Scott finds the style of the sonnets on the whole "lourd et ennuyeux".

In the volume of odes (whose fashion dates from Ronsard), the *Ballad of Agincourt* (not a proper ode) shows a felicitous condensation of much epic material which Drayton had elsewhere diluted in long-winded poems; the *Virginian Ode*, based on reports of travellers, anticipates the magic of exoticism which culminated in Marvell's *Bermudas*:

When as the Lushious smell  
Of that delicious Land,  
Above the Seas that flowes,  
The cleere Wind throwes,  
Your Hearts to swell  
Approching the deare Strand.

It is perhaps a far cry to Marvell's magic lines:

He gave us this eternal Spring  
Which here enamels everything ...  
He hangs in shades the orange bright  
Like golden lamps in a green night ...

but the poet's reaction to such descriptions as Amadas' and Barlowe's (Hakluyt, VIII, 298; 1584) bears witness that the call of the distant Eden was already at work. Those voyagers experienced "so sweet, and so strong a smel, as if we had bene in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be farre distant."

*The Heart*, in the volume of the *Odes*, brings us into the very centre of the metaphysical manner. Lines like :

Were it cymented or sowne  
By Shreds or Pieces knowne,  
We each might finde our owne —

sound almost like Donne's. On the other hand the moralising speeches of Fame and Fortune in *Robert of Normandie*, published also in 1619, bring us back to mediaeval tradition, and the *Legend of Great Cromwell* conforms to the trite mediaeval pattern of the *De Casibus*, common to the collection of the *Mirror for Magistrates* in which that poem was included. These legends of 1619 are *exempla*: *Gaveston* illustrates the fate of minions, *Matilda* illustrates chastity, *Robert of Normandie* culminates in a debate between Fame and Fortune, *Cromwell* shows the precartousness of the rise of a new man. Mediaeval is also the framework of *The Owle*, where the combined conventions of the spring-time dream, the bird-fable and the debate, as a vehicle for comment on current affairs, derive from Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*. Still, in conformity with the rhythm of seesaw which seems typical of Drayton's career, in the same year 1619, next to so many echoes of the past, we have again an anticipation of the future in the *Pastorals*. Mrs. Tillotson remarks that "the scene, notably in the 9th eclogue, is more vividly observed, more fully peopled: we are nearing the atmosphere of a poets' picnic which Browne and Wither were later to convey so prettily. And, as in those poets, there is a growing suggestion of conscious aesthetic appreciation of the pastoral world; of that detachment which develops into the classicism of *The Muses Elizium*, the *Hesperides*, and *Lycidas*." And, apropos of the ninth eclogue: "It is in this Eclogue that Drayton attains the rare balance of actuality and formality which marks the highest achievements of Elizabethan pastoral." The metre of this ninth eclogue is the same as in Gray's celebrated *Elegy*, and if the reader happens, in consequence, to be haunted by the memory of this latter poem, he will inevitably notice how Drayton misses the landscape and sees only the flowers, and these rather as bearers of emblematical senses than as natural objects. But, of course, it would be absurd to expect from Drayton a preromantic note. He is only an Alexandrian craftsman, delighting in *ἐκφράσεις* and catalogues. A catalogue of flowers in the ninth eclogue, a catalogue of the sea and the waterfowl in what Mrs. Tillotson considers the most effective passage in *The Man in the Moone*, which contains the description of Phoebe's mantle. Rather than this latter, we will remember the aspect of Phoebe herself :

Her Brow with beautie gloriously repleat,  
 Her count'nance lovely with a swelling Teat;  
 Gracing her broad Brest curiously inchaste,  
 With branched Veynes all bared to the Waste.  
 Over the same she ware a Vapour thin,  
 Thorow the which her cleere and dainty Skin,  
 To the beholder amiably did show,  
 Like Damaske Roses lightly clad in Snow.  
 Her Bow and Quiver at her Backe behinde,  
 That easily mooving with the wanton Winde,  
 Made a soft rustling, such as you do heare,  
 Amongst the Reedes some gliding River neare ...

Keats would have liked this description, for the portrait of Phoebe he drew himself in the first Book of *Endymion* is conceived in the same sensuous vein:

— Ah! see her hovering feet,  
 More bluely vein'd, more soft, more whitely sweet  
 Than those of sea-born Venus, when she rose  
 From out her cradle shell. The wind out-blows  
 Her scarf into a fluttering pavillion;  
 'Tis blue, and over-spangled with a million  
 Of little eyes, as though thou wert to shed,  
 Over the darkest, lushest blue-bell bed,  
 Handfulls of daisies ...

More catalogues, of ships, of blazons, etc. do we find in the long poem on *The Battle of Agincourt*, an expansion of the chronicle narrative which Mrs. Tillotson calls "picturesque", but which many a modern reader will find intolerably dull. That poem was brought out in 1627; by then chivalric poetry of the type of the *Orlando innamorato* had long been dead, and the time-hallowed survey of the blazons of the warriors could hardly be seriously undertaken after Don Quixote's immortal catalogue of the coats of arms of the imaginary armies for which he was mistaking two flocks of sheep. With the shorter and more memorable poem on the battle of Agincourt, and the 61st sonnet of *Idea, Nimphidia* (also published in 1627) has enjoyed more continued popularity than any other poem of Drayton's. "It owes something to Chaucer, more to Shakespeare (and a great deal to Drayton's friend William Browne and to Herrick, if indeed their fairy poems preceded his); but in its peculiar blend of diminutive fairies and mock-heroic (and mock-romantic) adventure, it is original and unique ... *Nimphidia* comes early in the development of the mock-heroic and presents some suggestive parallels to *The Rape of the Lock*." We are not so much interested in tracing the obvious influence of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or of the famous description of Queen Mab's coach, as in establishing how much Pope may have learned from Drayton. And sure enough when in the important elegy on *Poets and Poesie* we come across the line:

Who had drunke deepe of the *Pierian* spring,

we recall immediately the famous line in the *Essay on Criticism* :

Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring.

For Mrs. Tillotson "*The Muses Elizium*, published in Drayton's sixty-eighth year, is the ideal culmination of his career; a vision as complete in its own way as Shakespeare's late plays. It is 'the Poets Paradise': the muses, flowers, jewels, the beauties of the human body and the joys of country life are all there, not in laboured catalogue but enclosed and circumscribed in a perfect dramatic fantasy. Drayton has at last found a form entirely congenial to all his powers, and this late-found harmony releases his poetry into song, all the gnarls and knots of his style smoothed away." There are many sweet things and many honeyed passages in the *Nymphals*, although, in my opinion, Mrs. Tillotson's praise is a little extravagant, for the difference between the catalogues in this work and those in Drayton's other poems is after all not so great (see for instance the catalogue of precious stones in the ninth *Nimphal*). A tendency which is eventually to settle in the poetic diction of the next century is noticeable here and there. Thus in the sixth *Nimphal* we come across the *scaly brood* (l. 147) which we are going to meet again in Pope's *Windsor Forest* (*scaly breed*). The account of the animals in *Noahs Floud* is "the latest and best of Drayton's catalogues, a masterpiece of humorous and tender observation." One will certainly remember the Ram which "to the Arke ushers his gentle Ewe" (l. 274), and the squirrel "that leapt so nimble betwixt tree and tree" behaving in the Ark like "a Ship-boy come to clime the Mast" (l. 324 ff.).

As I said, the work of Drayton which is the most interesting technically is the series of *England's Heroicall Epistles*. The treatment of the heroic couplet with an epigrammatic bias already distinctly foreshadows Pope. Miss Ruth C. Wallerstein, who in her essay on *The Development of the heroic couplet* (PMLA, 1935, pp. 166-209) has traced the progressive stages in the formation of a measure which Pope was to make his own, has laid much stress on Ben Jonson but underestimated the importance of Drayton's *Heroicall Epistles*. The antithetical movement, the rhyme falling in with the syntactical construction, are found throughout Drayton's epistles. The following instances are significant enough (for the sake of brevity I do not give the full titles of the elegies, but only the pages in the present edition, volume II):

What, by this Conquest, canst thou hope to winne,  
Where the best Spoyle, is but the Acte of Sinne?  
Why on my Name this slander do'st thou bring,  
To make my Fault renowned by a King?  
"Fame never stoopes to things, but meane and poore,  
The more our Greatnesse, our Fault is the more;  
Lights on the Ground, themselves doe lessen farre,  
But in the Ayre, each small Sparke seemes a Starre."

(p.133-34)

Fatall my Birth, unfortunate my Life,  
Unkind my Children, most unkind my Wife

.....

So many Woes, so many Plagues to find,  
Sicknesse of Bodie, discontent of Mind.

.....

Is it a King regards the Clyents crie ?  
Gives Life to him, by Law condemn'd to die ? (p. 141)

When to our Wills perforce obey they must,  
That's just in them, what ere in us unjust. (p. 143)

You sigh'd, I sigh'd, we both our Passion prove,  
But thy sigh 'is for Hate, my sigh for Love. (p. 147)

Th' over-watch'd weakenesse of the sicke Conceit,  
Is that which makes small Beautie seeme so great ;  
Like things which hid in troubled Waters lye,  
Which crook'd, seeme straight, if straight, the contrarie. (p. 154)

Yet sometime doth our greatest Griefe appease,  
To double Sorrow after little Ease.  
Like that which the lascivious will doth crave,  
Which if once had, thou never more canst have ;  
Which if thou get, in getting thou do'st waste it,  
Taken, is lost, and perish'd, if thou hast it.  
(p. 155: a passage showing influence of Shakespeare's  
famous sonnet 129 and of *Lucrece*, 687-93).

Few be my Words, but manifold my Woe,  
And still I stay, the more I strive to goe. (p. 164)

And yet to give more safetie to my flight,  
Did make a Night of Day, a Day of Night. (p. 168)

Art thou offended, that thou art belov'd ?  
Remove the cause, th'effect is soone remov'd. (p. 176-7)

But what I am, I call mine owne no more,  
Take what thou wilt, and what thou wilt, restore. (p. 180)

As one that fayne would graunt, yet fayne deny,  
"Twixt Hope and Feare I doubtfully reply,  
A Womans Weaknesse, lest I should discover,  
Answering a Prince, and writing to a Lover

.....

About to write, but newly entring in,  
Me thinkes I end, ere I can well begin ...

.....

O Lord ! what sundry Passions doe I try,  
To set that right, which is so much awry ? (p. 182)

And I have gain'd my Libertie with shame,  
To save my Life, made shipwracke of my Name. (p. 185)

What can my Queene but hope for from this Hand,  
That it should write, which never could command?

.....

Ill this rude Hand did guide a Scepter then,  
Worse now (I feare me) it will rule a Pen.

.....

Not from thy Husband, for my hatefull Life  
Makes thee a Widdow, being yet a Wife. (p. 195)

A Winter, Spring-Time, Summer, and a Fall,  
All Seasons varying, but unseasoned all. (p. 196)

Comfort is now displeasing to mine Eare,  
Past cure, past care, my Bed becomes my Beere. (p. 198)

All Men to some one qualitie incline,  
Onely to Love is naturally mine.

.....

And thus I leave, till time my Faith approve,  
I cease to write, but never cease to love. (p. 212)

Where-ever then his Body doth remaine,  
He is a King, that in himselfe doth raigne;  
And never feareth Fortunes hot'st Alarmes,  
That beares against her Patience for his Armes. (p. 231)

Judge if his kindnesse have not power to move,  
Who for his loves sake gave away his love. (p. 233)

All heavenly Beauties joyne themselves in one,  
To shew their glorie in thine Eye alone;  
Which, when it turneth that celestiall Ball,  
A thousand sweet starres rise, a thousand fall. (p. 234)

All other Creatures follow after kind,  
But Man alone doth not beget the Mind. (p. 241)

When much abundance makes the needie mad,  
Who having all, yet knowes not what is had. (p. 247)

Here, like a Comet gaz'd at in the Skies,  
Subject to all Tongues, object to all Eyes. (p. 254)

And goes away enriched with the store,  
Whilst others gleane, where he hath reap'd before. (p. 255)

But our kind Hearts, Mens Teares cannot abide,  
And we least angry oft, when most we chide. (p. 256)

True love doth looke with pale suspicious eye,  
Take away love, if thou take jealousy. (p. 263)

If health preserv'd, thou Beautie still do'st cherish,  
If that neglected, Beautie soon doth perish.  
Care draws on Care, Woe comforts Woe againe,  
Sorrow breeds Sorrow, one Griefe brings forth twaine:  
If live or die, as thou do'st, so doe I,  
If live, I live, and if thou die, I die.

One Heart, one Love, one Joy, one Griefe, one Troth,  
One Good, one Ill, one Life, one Death to both. (p. 279)

Love did us both with one-selfe Arrow strike,  
Our Wound's both one, our Cure should be the like. (p. 283)

A Subject borne, a Sovereigne to have beene,  
Hath made me now, nor Subject, nor a Queene. (p. 296)

For we in vaine relie on humane Lawes,  
 When Heaven stands forth to pleade the righteous cause,  
 Thus rule the Skies in their continuall course,  
 That yeelds to Fate, that doth not yeeld to force. (p. 298)

Other instances of this treatment of the heroic couplet could be given from *The Owle*. But it is chiefly in the *Epistles* that the antithetic and epigrammatic couplet recurs so frequently as to form the very pattern of the little poems, and to give to the play of feelings the curious geometrical effect of a game of cards or a ballet (or of both at the same time, if we may be allowed to bring in Stravinskij's *Jeu de cartes*). The Kings and Queens who in the *Heroicall Epistles* thus bandy passions and sentiments, acquire the artificial elegance of kings and queens on the "nice verdant carpet" of a gaming-table, "fittest arena for those courtly combatants to play their gallant jousts and tourneys in". If kings and queens of cards had a way of expressing their feelings, surely they would talk in heroic couplets like Drayton's, each couplet diagonally cut across by an antithesis like the cards themselves showing the same inverted bust above and below a diagonal line. The treatment of the couplet brings this Elizabethan world of kings and queens curiously near to the artificialities of the next century and to Pope. While we turn page after page of passionate protestations, we quite naturally expect to come suddenly across the lines:

Soon as thy letters trembling I uncloze,  
 That well-known name awakens all my woes.  
 Oh name for ever sad! for ever dear!  
 Still breath'd in sighs, still usher'd with a tear.

There seems to be a spirit in certain metrical patterns, which makes them almost independent of the poets who invented them. The heroic couplet is one of these: its very structure called for the antithetical treatment; whether it was Jonson, or Drayton, or Pope who practised it, the verse contained this development in itself, one would almost say, thinking of Michelangelo's famous sonnet on the shape of the statue being already within the block of marble:

Non ha l'ottimo artista alcun concetto  
 Ch'un marmo solo in sé non circonscriva  
 Col soverchio.....

Literature has its heights and hollows like the earth itself; in the Elizabethan region Drayton's poetry is certainly the most extensive expanse of flat country, but, wide as it is, it seems hardly noticeable among the peaks that screen it from our view to-day. Once we have read the four big volumes of Drayton's verse, we relegate them to the back row of our bookcase, only to be consulted by the curious antiquary.

## Notes and News

### A Twelfth-Century Lollard?

Some time between 1114 and 1133 a lady called *Edgiva* (or *Edyna*), widow of a London citizen who clearly belonged to the patrician class of the City, entered Ramsey Abbey in Huntingdonshire as a nun and on that occasion gave to the abbey certain land in London not specified. Mention of this gift is to be found in the Chronicle of Ramsey (Chronicles and Memorials 83) and more briefly in the old Index to the Ramsey Cartulary (Chronicles and Memorials 79). The name of Edgiva's late husband is given as *Elfred le Lollere* in the Ramsey Chronicle, as *Alfward Lollere* in the Ramsey Cartulary. The passages referring to the gift had better be quoted in full.

Walter, abbot of Ramsey 1133-60, writes :

Notum sit vobis nos concessisse Nicholao mercenario terram quam de nobis tenet quæ Deo et sancto Benedicto (sc. Ramsey Abbey) pro Moricio data fuit quando apud Ramesiam monachus devenit, et terram quam Edyna uxor Elfredi le Lollere Deo et sancto Benedicto dedit quando monacha apud Ramesiam devenit, pro una marca argenti per singulos annos (Ramsey Chronicle 308).

The charter is not included in the Ramsey Cartulary, but this entry occurs in the old Index to the Cartulary :

Dimissio Reginaldi abbatis, de domibus Londoniæ, pro duabus marcis, quando Edgiva uxor Alfwardi Lollere monacha Ramesiensis devenit (I, 105).

Reginald (or Reynold) was abbot of Ramsey 1114-33. Between these two dates thus falls the gift of Edgiva and her entry into the monastery as a nun.

Her husband's name is once *Elfred*, once *Alfward*, but it is clear that the form in the Ramsey Chronicle is more trustworthy than that in the Cartulary. The index to the Cartulary was doubtless drawn up in the 14th century when the Cartulary was compiled, and an error may easily have been made by the scribe. Moreover, there can be no doubt that *Edgiva* (*Edyna*) is the same person as *Edeona uxor Alfredi* who is mentioned in a charter by Reginald Abbot, which occurs in the same form in the Chronicle of Ramsey 235 and in the Cartulary I, 128. The charter runs thus :

Reinaldus abbas &c. Sciatis me concessisse huic Edeonæ uxori Alfredi, et hæredi ejus, cum fratribus consensu, in capitulo nostro, partem de terra illa quæ data fuit nostræ ecclesiæ cum Mauricio monacho ... et dabit inde unoquoque anno nostræ ecclesiæ quinque solidos.

It will be seen that the land leased to Edeona was the same (or part of the same) as that which Abbot Walter later conceded to Nicholas the Mercer together with the land which Edyna wife of Elfred le Lollere gave to the Abbey on becoming a nun. Reginald's charter to Edeona uxor Alfredi is clearly older than that referred to in the Index to the Cartulary

(as *supra*). The Abbey let to Edeona certain land some time before she became a nun. It is probable that the first charter of Abbot Reginald's belongs to the earlier part of his abbacy. Edeona was clearly a widow already, and her husband will have been dead about 1120. His name was thus obviously *Alfred*, not *Alfward*.

The name of his widow appears variously as *Edyna*, *Edeona*, *Edgiva*. The best form is evidently *Edgiva*, a later development of OE *Eadgifu*. *Edyna* is to be read *Edyua*. *Edeona* should be read *Edeoua*, which represents a side-form *Eadgeofu*.

Incidentally the rents paid for the tenements in question indicate that the properties involved were not altogether insignificant. It is difficult to say exactly what a sum such as 5 sh. or 1 mark (13 sh. 4 d.) meant in those days. But the rents paid may be compared with those found in the Survey of 1185 of the land of the Templars<sup>1</sup> and a list of rents in London of the time of John in EHR XVII, p. 483. The rents of the lands of the Templars show such sums as 17 sh. (exceptional), 6 sh., 4 sh., 2 sh. or less. The list in EHR XVII gives sums such as 6 sh. 3d., 4 sh. 8 d., 3 sh., 2 sh., 4 d. etc. It looks as if a rent of 5 sh. indicates a property of good standing and a rent of 2 marks seems to indicate a valuable property. It is somewhat surprising that Abbot Walter let the land given by Morice and that given by Edyua for one mark only. There may have been some special reason why Nicholas the Mercer had the houses so cheap, or the value of the property may have gone down owing to some circumstance which must remain unknown to us. The general impression gained is that Alfred le Lollere and his wife were people of substance.

We come to the chief subject of the present paper, the surname or rather nickname of Edgiva's husband, (*le*) *Lollere*. Since Alfred will have been dead about 1120, the nickname must have arisen not later than about 1100, and it is evidence of an English word *lollere*, which could be used as a nickname or by-name. *Lollere* is an agent-noun formed from a verb *lollen*, which must thus have been in existence before 1100. Two explanations of such a verb seem possible.

There was a ME *lollen* 'to droop, dangle; to lean idly, to recline or rest in a relaxed attitude' etc., first recorded in Langland. If *Lollere* is derived from this verb, it would mean something like 'an indolent fellow'. The verb *lollen* would in that case be recorded before 1100. Incidentally it is then evident that the verb is native English, not a loanword, from a Dutch verb of similar meaning, as suggested by Bense, *A Dictionary of the Low-Dutch Element in the English Vocabulary*. Native origin is anyhow probable. It may be added that a noun *loller* 'one who lolls' is actually recorded in English, though not till the 16th century (OED). This solution is that which offers least difficulty and will perhaps commend itself to most scholars.

Alternatively *Lollere* may be identified with ME *lollere* 'a Lollard', which

<sup>1</sup> *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century*. Ed. Beatrice A. Lees. London, 1935 (British Academy Records, IX), p. 14 f.

is first found in Chaucer and Langland. This *lollere* is taken in OED to be a modification of *lollard* from MDu *lollaerd*, which was applied from c 1300 to the members of a certain sect, also called *lollebroeders*. *Lollard* is found in English later than *lollere* (in the derivative *lollardy* c 1390).

But it is possible that the history of the word *lollere* 'a Lollard' is somewhat different from what is suggested in OED. *Lollere* may be an old word in English, which was substituted for Du *lollaerd* as a designation for a Lollard because it was used in a similar sense.

The origin of Du *lollaerd* is not with certainty known, except in so far as it is no doubt derived from DMu, Du *lollen* 'to hum; to sing in a low voice; to mutter' and the like. The people to whom it was applied were members of a religious community who did not form an order and who devoted themselves to the care of the sick, the burial of poor people and the like. It is suggested in *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* that the name was given to these people because they sang in a low voice at funerals. Others take the word to have meant literally 'a mumblor, mutterer' (of prayers etc.); this view is adopted in OED.

Du *lollen* corresponds to LG, EFr *lollen* 'to hum' etc. The verb seems to have been common to Continental West Germanic Languages. It is clearly onomatopoeic like English *lull* (14th cent. etc.), Swed. *lulla*, Dan *lulle* 'to soothe with sounds or caresses, to induce to sleep' etc., originally no doubt 'to hum, prattle' or the like, early Du *lullen* 'numeros canere', Du *lullen* 'to prattle'. It is conceivable that *lollen* was used also in Middle English, though it is not recorded in senses such as 'to mumble, to sing in a low tone' till early Modern English. The ME sense 'to act or speak as a Lollard' is clearly derived from the word *Lollard* (or *lollere*). From *lollen* 'to hum' etc. may have been formed a ME *lollere* 'one who hums or sings (hymns)' or 'one who mumbles (prayers)' or the like, which was applied like Du *lollaerd* to a pious or religious person.

This is, of course, only a hypothesis which cannot be supported by any definite evidence, for to my knowledge there is no information of a religious movement in England in the early 12th century of a kind analogous to the later Continental one. Indeed we hardly know anything about the religious life of lay people in England in that early period. But what may give some support to the suggestion is the fact that Alfred Lollere's wife was clearly a pious person, since she became a nun after her husband's death. We may perhaps infer that Alfred himself was likewise a pious person.

After all, the two alternatives may be combined into one. It is possible that the nickname *Lollere* represents an early ME *lollere* 'an indolent or easy-going fellow' and that when later the Dutch word *lollaerd* became known it was associated with this English word *lollere* in spite of the disparity of meaning and was consequently changed into *lollere*.

## Oude Engelse Plantnamen \*

## Bismalwe

In het 15de-eeuwse „Leechbook”, door Warren R. Dawson in 1934 uitgegeven naar een manuscript uit de bibliotheek van de Medical Society te Londen vinden we op pag. 38, onder nr. 77, het volgende recipe: „ffor to breke a „boch” (= om een gezwel te doen doorbreken): Take sorell and the white *bisualue* and the lesse broke lenke and stamp hem in a mortar and fry hem in shepis talowe and lay it hote to the byle”

„Sorell” is de *Rumex acetosa* (= Zuring) en „lesse broke lenke” is de *Veronica Anagallis* (= Water-Ereprijs), maar wat heeft de schrijver bedoeld met het door mij gecursiveerde „white *bisualue*”?

In zijn modern-Engelse transcriptie geeft Dawson het weer door „bistort(?)”. Het vraagteken zegt reeds, dat de schrijver zelf twijfelt aan de juistheid van zijn identificatie van *bisualue* met de bistort (d.i. *Polygonum bistorta* = *Adderwortel*); en dit is geen wonder, want in dat *bisualue* hebben we ongetwijfeld te doen met een corrupte vorm, die echter gemakkelijk te herstellen is, door in plaats van de eerste *u(v)* een *m* te lezen; de schrijver zal dus *bismalve* (*bismalve*) bedoeld hebben.

Dat deze eenvoudige emendatie ten volle gerechtvaardigd is, moge uit het volgende blijken.

In het Mnl. „*Boeck van Surgiën*” van Mr. Thom. Scellinck van Thienen<sup>1</sup> lezen we: „Cureerse als die ghene die heete appostemen<sup>2</sup> hebben dats (= d.w.z.) datmen sal gieten werm olie rosaet (= rozenolie) in die wonden of men sal daer in gieten water daer in ghesoden sal siin *bismalve* ende camomillen<sup>3</sup> ende venegriek<sup>4</sup> ende liinsaet ofte plaester van garsten mele ende water ende olie rosarum”. De *Bismalve* nu is de *Althaea officinalis* (= *Heemst*), die in de oude geneeskunde veel gebruikt werd als ingredient van zalven voor wonden en abscessen, zoals ook uit bovenaangehaalde plaats bij Thom. Scellinck blijkt. In dezelfde zin wordt de plant (*bismalva*) ook genoemd in „*De Cyrurgie*” van Mr. Jan Yperman.<sup>5</sup>

Dit *bismalve* is samengesteld uit 't Lat. *bis* (= tweemaal) en de plantnaam *Malve* (*Malva*, *Maluwe*, *Kaasjeskruid*). De *Malva*<sup>6</sup> was ook een *wondkruid*, nauw verwant aan de *Althaea*, en door de naam *bismalve* werd dus uitgedrukt, dat deze *Althaea off.* nog meer wondhelende kracht bezat dan de *Malva*.

\* Exceptionally published in Dutch. — Ed.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Dr. E. C. van Leersum in: *Opuscula Selecta Neerlandicorum de Arte Medica*, VII, blz. 30a.

<sup>2</sup> Abscessen.

<sup>3</sup> *Matricaria Chamomilla* = Kamille.

<sup>4</sup> *Trigonella Foenum graecum* = Zevengetijdenklaver.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Dr. E. C. van Leersum, blz. 240.

<sup>6</sup> Afs. *malwe*, *mealowe*; ME. *malwe*; Lat. *malva* is van dezelfde wortel als Gr. *malakos* (= *zacht*) en *malassein* (= *zacht maken*).

Daar 't nu in het boven aangehaalde oud-Engelse recept ook gaat over 't doen doorbreken en helen van een „boch” of „byle” (= *zweer, gezwel*), is 't duidelijk, dat we daar ook te doen hebben met de term *bismalve*, die Dawson blijkbaar niet gekend heeft. In 't oudere Engels komt deze naam dan ook slechts heel zelden voor. Behalve op deze plaats heb ik die alleen gevonden in 't door Fr. Heinrich uitgegeven Middel-Engelse medicijnboek (zie beneden), pag. 225, waar we lezen: „Pro rancore vel tumore vulnerum. Tak the rote of altea, and *bismalwe*”; en, in de vorm *Bysmalow*, bij J. O. Halliwell<sup>7</sup>, die 't woord aanhaalt uit een middeleeuws handschrift (Bodl. Bibl. 591), dat, voorzover mij bekend is, nog niet gepubliceerd is. Hij geeft *bysmalow* weer door *holyhock* (= *Holy Hoke*), dat een oude naam<sup>8</sup> is van de *Althaea rosea* (= *Stokroos*), een plant van hetzelfde geslacht als *Althaea off.* Het adjectief *white*, dat in 't bovengenoemde oud-Eng. recept 't substantief *bisualue* vergezelt, zegt ons, dat we in deze plant niet de *Althaea rosea*, maar de *Althaea off.* (= *Heemst*) te zien hebben, die b.v. in 't oudere Nederlands, en ook nu hier en daar nog wel, *Witte Maluwe*, of *Witte Haemst*, *Witte Heemst* genoemd wordt.<sup>9</sup>

Overigens wordt de term *bismalve*, *bismalva* niet alleen in 't Mnl.<sup>10</sup>, maar ook nog in enkele Mhd. glossen<sup>11</sup> gevonden (voor: *eywisch*, *ibisch*, *weisz-grosz-pappel* d.i. *Althaea off.*).

Uit 't bovenstaande is m.i. wel gebleken, dat de emendatie *bismalve* geheel verantwoord is.

### Lemke - Hleomoc - Lumeke

In Fr. Heinrich's uitgave (1896) van een Middel-Engels medicijnboek naar het Addit. Ms. 33,996 van het Br. Mus. vinden we S. 85 het volgende recept: „Contra tumores. Take groundeswele, *lemke*, chiken mete, daysyes, reubarbe, petit morel, and herbe benet<sup>12</sup>; stampe hem, and do hem ouer the fuyr, and let hem boyle wel, and as hoot as the seek may suffre, lay the plasture to the sore”.

In zijn daarop betrekking hebbende aantekening tracht Heinrich het substantief *lemke* alleen te verklaren door te wijzen op 't in O. Cockayne, Leechdoms etc. III, 302, voorkomende „*Grassula Hleomuc*” (= „*Crassula rubens?* Dickblatt”). Hierdoor suggereert hij, dat hier met *lemke* een *Crassula* bedoeld zou zijn. 'k Geloof echter, dat dit niet juist is. Wel vinden we in 't door Cockayne (t.a.p. III, 302) opgenomen glossarium van oud-

<sup>7</sup> J. O. Halliwell, A Diction. of Archaic and Provinc. Words, pag. 225.

<sup>8</sup> Zie J. Britten and R. Holland, A Diction. of Engl. Plant-Names, p. 264.

<sup>9</sup> H. Heukels, Woordenb. d. Ned. Volksn. v. Planten, blz. 16.

<sup>10</sup> In het Ms. Sloane, nr. 345 (Br. Mus.), gepubliceerd door K. de Flou en E. Gailliard in de Versl. e. Meded. d. Kon. VI. Acad. 1896, blz. 298, vinden we „*Bismalva* = *Heemse*”.

<sup>11</sup> Zie L. Diefenbach, Gloss. Lat.-Germ. med. et inf. aetatis, S. 75; en H. Fischer, Mittelalterl. Pflanzenk. S. 258.

<sup>12</sup> In dit recept is *groundeswele* = *Senecio vulgaris* (= *Kruiskruid*); *chiken mete* = *Stellaria media* (= *Sterremuur*); *daysyes* = *Bellis perennis* (= *Madeliefje*); *reubarbe* = *Rheum Rhubarbarum* (= *Rhabarber*); *herbe benet* = *Geum urbanum* (= *Nagelkruid*).

Eng. plantnamen *Grassula Hleome*, maar dit is nu juist een van de weinige plaatsen, die H. m.i. niet had moeten gebruiken ter verklaring van *lemke* in bovenstaand recept, want deze glosse berust hoogstwaarschijnlijk op verwarring van verschillende planten (zie beneden).

Nu is het wel eigenaardig, dat Heinrich zelf eigenlijk de weg gewezen heeft tot een juiste interpretatie van dit *lemke*; in 't bovengenoemde Leechbook toch vinden we op blz. 88 een ander recept voor 't bereiden van een „plasture”, dat luidt: „Al so take heyhoue, and walwort, whit malues<sup>13</sup> and broke *limke*, and stamp hem, and frye hem in shepes talew, and ley the plastre to the sore<sup>14</sup>.”

Hier hebben we dus de vorm „*limke*”, samengesteld met 't substantief *broke* (= brook = beek; moerasland), waarbij H. verwijst naar „*lemke*” (S. 85). Deze laatste vorm komt ook nog voor in een recept (S. 152) voor een pleister „pro tumore neruorum vel venarum”. Als „lempke” zien we 't (S. 125) in een voorschrift voor 't gereedmaken van een „letuary” (d.i. electuarium = likpot) „contra lapidem” (= calculus renum, niersteen). In het oudere Engels zijn de vormen dus *lemke*, *limke*, *lempke*, *lembe*, *lenke*, *lempe*, *lemp*, *lemeke*, *lemoke*, meestal in samenstelling met *broke* (*brook*). De tegenwoordige vorm is (*brook*)-*lime*. In 't Ags. vinden we *hleomoc*, *hleomoce*, *hleomuc*. In 't Ags. Leechbook I (O. Cockayne, Leechbooks, Wortcunning etc. II, 93) vinden we: „*hleomoce* hâtte wyrt, sió *weâxeth on broce*” (d.i. *Hleomoc* is de naam van een kruid, dat groeit in (aan) beken). Hier wordt dus duidelijk gezegd, dat we hier te doen hebben met een plant, die aan (of: in) beekjes of op moerassige plaatsen voorkomt; en J. Halliwell (t.a.p. pag. 213) haalt de term *Broklembe* aan uit Ms. Sloane 5. f. 5, waar 't de vertaling is van *Fabaria*. Dit laatste substantief nu is in de middeleeuwen<sup>15</sup> een gewone aanduiding van de *Veronica beccabunga* (= *Brooklime*, *Beekpunge*). Hieruit zien we, dat *lemke*, *limke*, *broke-limke*, *lenke* enz. de *Veronica beccabunga* is.

Dat we in enkele Ags. glossen *hleomoc* ook vinden voor *Grassula* (d.i. *Crassula*, zie boven) vindt zijn oorzaak hierin, dat de *Veronica beccabunga* (*Beekpunge*), in tegenstelling met andere *Veronica*-soorten, een vrij vlezige stengel en bladeren heeft, waardoor licht verwarring met een enkele *Crassula*-soort kon ontstaan.

Het Middelnederd. kent 't woord in de vormen *lomeke*, *lumeke* en *luneke*<sup>16</sup>; de tegenwoordige Nederd. dialecten hebben *lömek*, *lömke*, *lünecke*, *lünich*<sup>17</sup>, terwijl we in 't Deens de vormen *lemmik(e)*, *lemmke* en *lemmoke* aantreffen<sup>18</sup>.

Over de oorsprong van 't woord is weinig met zekerheid te zeggen.

<sup>13</sup> *heyhoue* = *Glechoma hederacea* (Hondsdrif); *walwort* = *Sambucus ebulus* (= Kruidvlier) of *Symphytum* off. (Smeerwortel); *whit malues* = *Althaea* off. (Heemst).

<sup>14</sup> Dit voorschrift vertoont merkwaardig veel overeenkomst met 't boven uit W. R. Dawson (t.a.p. 38) aangehaalde „recipe ffor to breke a boch”. Beide schrijvers hebben blijkbaar dezelfde bron gekend.

<sup>15</sup> Zie H. Fischer, t.a.p. S. 262. — *Alphita* (Ed. J. C. G. Mowat, pag. 197).

<sup>16</sup> Zie K. Schiller u. A. Lübben, Mittelniederd. Wtb. II, 749.

St. Skinner geeft daaromtrent in zijn *Etymol. Ling. Anglicanae* (1671) zelfs drie mogelijkheden; dat betekent dus, dat hij de etymologie van 't woord niet kent. Dr. H. Marzell<sup>19</sup> vermoedt, dat 't substantief (*Lümeke* enz.) van dezelfde oorsprong is als 't nu verouderde Nederd. adjectief *lumm* (Mhd. *lüene*), dat op dezelfde wortel teruggaat als 't Nederl. *loom* en *lam* en dat *slap*, *week*, *niet stevig* betekent, hetgeen wel zou passen voor de vrij slappe stengel van de *Beekpunge*.

Als bezwaar tegen deze etymologie gevoel ik echter de Duitse vorm *glümeke*<sup>20</sup> en het Ags. *hleome*, resp. met *g* en *h* in de Anlaut. Nu kunnen we deze consonanten als anorganisch beschouwen (Vgl. Nederd. *Gloot-wörtel*, *Glootwuttel* naast 't Mnd. *Lodwort*. Zie voorts *Niederd. Mitteil.* II (1946), 59—60), ofschoon 't toch merkwaardig blijft, dat dan zowel in 't Duits als in 't Ags. zulk een prothetische consonant voorkomt. Onze slotsom is, dat omtrent de etymologie van *hleomoc*, *lumeke* enz. nog niets vaststaat.

### Erbe water

Op pag. 126 van Heinrich's uitgave treffen we in een recept „Pro tumore virge” de naam *erbe water* aan. We hebben hierin een schrijffout voor de juiste vorm (*h*)*erbe Wauter*, die trouwens door H. in de variant wordt opgegeven. H. kan deze term niet verklaren; hij schrijft (pag. 48): „*erbe water*, *wauter*, *walter*, *wörtlich Walterskraut* = ?”

Sinds 1896, toen H.'s uitgave 't licht zag, is deze naam, ten minste wat de betekenis betreft, wel tot klaarheid gebracht<sup>21</sup>. We hebben hierin de aanduiding van de *Asperula odorata* (= *Lieve-vrouwen-bedstroo*), die in 't Duits *Waldmeister* heet en in ons land (grensgebied b.v. Noord-Limburg) soms *Waldmeester* genoemd wordt. Bij R. Dodonaeus vinden we *Walmeester*. De gewone Eng. naam is nu *Woodruff*, *Woodroof*.

Over de mogelijke oorsprong van 't woord kan men 't nodige vinden bij Dr. H. Marzell, *Wörterb. der d. Pflanzenn.* I, 470 (Vgl. W. Skeat, *An Etymol. Dict. i.v. woodruff*).

Groningen.

CHR. STAPELKAMP.

<sup>17</sup> Zie G. Hegi, *Illustr. Flora von Mittel-Europa*, VI, 1, 64. — G. Pritzel u. C. Jessen, *Die d. Volksn. d. Pflanzen*, S. 432. — *D. Bot. Monatschr.* VIII, 185.

<sup>18</sup> O. Kalkar, *Ordb. til det ældre Danske Spr.* II, 780. — V. Dahlerup, *Ordb. over d. Danske Spr.* XII, 624.

<sup>19</sup> Zie G. Hegi, t.a.p. VI, 1, 64.

<sup>20</sup> Zie P. A. Nemnich, *Allg. Polygl.-Lexicon der Naturgesch.* V, 200.

<sup>21</sup> We vinden de naam (*herb Wauter*, *herb Wauter*) ook in „*Liber de Diversis Medicinis*” (Ed. M. S. Ogden, pag. 74) resp. in een recept voor „*A gud salve for woundis*” en voor „*A gud oynement*”.

**Voiced t, etc.** In my Brief Mention of Ekwall's *American and British Pronunciation* (Febr. 1947) I asked what was the difference, if any, between 'voiced [t]', in the American pronunciation of a word like *better*, and [d]. Professor Ekwall has kindly drawn my attention to an article by Einar Haugen in *Dialect Notes* (New Haven, Conn.), Vol. VI, Parts XVI, XVII (July-Dec. 1938), pp. 627-634, in which my question is answered. According to the writer's analysis of his own 'voiced t'<sup>1</sup>, "it is articulated at the same point as his 'regular' t, but it differs from it in being (1) voiced, (2) unaspirated, (3) short, and (4) loosely articulated. It differs from d in the two last-named respects. It may be described as a voiced, unaspirated, alveolar fricative. Most of Mr. Kenyon's kymograms show a closure of the passage so brief that it can not be said to have any duration. It is a mere fluttering contact, in contrast to the more solid formations of both t and d."

With reference to the 'screening' of German students (*E. S.*, April 1947, p. 56), Mr. Neuyen contributes the following definition of *screen* (vb.) from the latest edition of Webster's *New International Dictionary*: "Chiefly Military. To pass through a standardized test (screening test) for sorting out candidates of superior capacity, aptitude and personality (as for advanced training, special assignment, etc.); or for eliminating those patently unfit for induction." The basic idea is thus seen to be different from that of *purge*.

In its leading article on "France in the Balance" *The Times Literary Supplement* of May 17, 1947, uses the word *epuration*, of which OED gives only two examples, dated 1800 and 1825, the latter reading: "Epuration or investigation of the characters of official persons." The re-emergence of the word is probably due to its use in French; the first of the three contexts in which it occurs (the second is in a passage translated from the French) runs as follows:

In fine, the political ends which epuration has served are at last appearing distinctly; it can no longer be questioned that a systematic scheme of suppression has been practised by the Communists during the last two years under cover of special jurisdiction of which the principle has never been submitted to universal suffrage.

Dr. Wood has come across an instance of the use of the word *purge* (as a noun) in Shane Leslie's novel *The Oppidan* (1922), a story of school-life at Eton:

Mr. Morley, deciding on a purge, had had Frencher detained in his home circle. (p. 293.)

Mr. Morley, Dr. Wood explains, was the House-Master and Frencher the leader of a band of refractory scholars. — Z.

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<sup>1</sup> The writer was born in Iowa, and was at the time of writing living in Wisconsin.

## Reviews

*The Earliest English Poetry. A Critical Survey of the Poetry Written before the Norman Conquest with Illustrative Translations.*  
By CHARLES W. KENNEDY. viii + 375 pp. Oxford University Press, 1943. Price 16 s.

Prof. Kennedy's book is sure to be welcomed by scholars and lovers of literature alike. Though questions of chronology and authorship which can be solved if at all by philological criteria only, are discussed at some length, statistics on the use of the weak adjective and the definite article are never allowed to gain the upper hand. The author's primary concern is with literary values and everything else is subordinated to this aim. A great number of felicitous translations by Kennedy himself, which form an anthology of choice passages from every type of poetry, will appeal especially to the general reader. The metre chosen is the alliterative line of four stressed, alternating with one to two unstressed, syllables. The staves are not placed according to the strict rules observed in the originals, and occasionally the alliteration is altogether wanting. This metrical freedom allows the author to give a fairly literal and at the same time eminently readable rendering. It may even be questioned whether the striving after readableness has not at times been carried too far. That most obscure third strophe of *Deor* is translated as follows (p. 32):

Many have heard      of the rape of Hild,  
Of her father's affection      and infinite love,  
Whose nights were sleepless      with sorrow and grief.

Kennedy must be fully aware that it requires a considerable amount of straining to make the received text yield the above sense. He may urge in his defence that even a fanciful translation that makes sense is preferable to a philologically correct one that makes none. Still, a footnote cautioning the reader that the translation should be looked upon as tentative would not have been amiss. There is another concession to the general public to be noticed. If the "use of repetition, accompanied by variations of form" — to borrow Kennedy's own words (p. 20) — is "a unique characteristic of Old English verse", then why is this peculiarity not fully preserved in the translation, even if it should "to a modern reader suggest redundancy"? The six opening lines of the *Phoenix* e.g. are condensed to four in Kennedy's rendering, and the two specimens from the *Juliana* (pp. 211 and 212) have undergone a similar shortening process. Such modernizations are not quite palatable to the philologist.

There are few cases where I should like to quarrel with Kennedy's translation:

Crist 66    *nu is þæt bearn cymen,*  
              *awæcned to wyrpe      weorcum eþrea*

"born to demolish the works of the Hebrews" (Kennedy p. 239). Bosworth-Toller translates correctly (sub *wirp*, f.): "the child is come to alleviate the sufferings of the Hebrews"<sup>1</sup>.

*Dream of the Rood* 140..... þær is Dryhtnes folc  
geseted to symle

Not: "where God's people are established forever in eternal bliss" (Kennedy, p. 266),

but: where God's people are seated at the banquet.<sup>2</sup>

*Grave* 17 Ðus ðu bist ilegd and la dæst þine frondon  
[= laðast þinum freondum]

Not: "Thus are you laid, leaving your dear ones" (Kennedy, p. 331), but: Thus will you be laid and become loathsome to your dear ones.

Kennedy does not propose any startling new theories of his own, nor does he follow any extravagant theories of others. He assigns none of the poems of the Junius MS. to Caedmon, not even part of *Genesis A*. With regard to Cynewulf he is equally disinclined to go beyond what can be supported by strong evidence. Of Cynewulf's "biography" there remains practically nothing. Only the four poems bearing the poet's signature (*Juliana*, *Crist II*, *Fata Apostolorum* and *Elene*) may safely be regarded as his work. Amongst the anonymous poems *Guthlac B*, the *Phoenix* and especially the *Dream of the Rood* shew sufficient resemblance of style and diction to suggest that they too may possibly be attributed to Cynewulf.

The same sober, judicious attitude that I have already referred to characterizes Kennedy's aesthetic criticism. He has a keen sense for what is genuine poetry and what is conventional, and if his opinions often coincide with those of other scholars it is because on the literary merits of most Old English poems a consensus has been attained. His book may also be warmly recommended to our students.

Basle.

KARL JOST.

*The Dramatic Career of Arthur Murphy.* By HOWARD HUNTER  
DUNBAR. viii + 339 pp. New York: The Modern Language  
Association of America. London: Cumberlege. 1946. \$3.50.

"To most students of the period when Murphy was most active," writes Dr. Dunbar in his preface, "he was and is only a name. To his contem-

<sup>1</sup> Gordon, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 148 and Grein-Köhler (sub *wyrp*) give a similar rendering.

<sup>2</sup> Cook, in the notes to his edition, rightly refers to Apoc. 19,9 *Beati, qui ad coenam nuptiarum Agni vocati sunt*.

poraries, however, he was a writer of note, particularly in the drama." And Dr. Johnson declared, according to Boswell, "I don't know that Arthur can be classed with the very first dramattick writers: yet at present I doubt very much whether we have anything superior to Arthur." The two quotations are interesting because, taken together, they symbolise the rise and fall in the reputation of one who occupied a conspicuous position in the literary world of the mid- and late eighteenth century, and in a sense they summarise the theme of the present work. Dr. Dunbar accepts, in the main, Johnson's opinion, with some reservation as to the second part of it; the reader of his book will probably accept his own assertion with a similar reservation as to the first part, for it is open to question whether Murphy has been quite so neglected of recent years as he would lead us to believe (his own footnotes and references are evidence of no inconsiderable interest on the part of scholars), while since his partial rehabilitation in Professor Allardyce Nicoll's *History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama* and the publication of his comedy *The Way to Keep Him* in the World's Classics volume of *Eighteenth Century Comedies*, to serious students of the period he has been rather more than a name. Taking his work as a whole, however, it is probably true to say that it has remained for Dr. Dunbar to assess its real significance and to trace out the complicated and intricate relations between Murphy and the literary (more especially the theatrical) world of his day.

Dr. Dunbar has not set out to write a biography of Murphy, though no doubt from the material he has amassed he could have done that very adequately: instead he has concentrated on investigating in great detail Murphy's connection with and work for the theatres in the years between 1754 and 1777, with a preliminary chapter on such of the salient facts of his earlier life as seemed necessary for his main purpose, and an appended summary, in note form, of the period from 1777 to his death in 1805. Each play is taken separately and treated exhaustively: the plot is summarised, sources are searched out, it is subjected to a critical analysis, it is set against the background of contemporary theatrical conditions and stage politics, its reception by critics and the public is noted, while finally its subsequent stage-history is sketched. Murphy's part in the theatrical wars of the day is also fully investigated, in particular his quarrels with Garrick, his rivalry with George Colman and his fluctuating relations with actors and actresses; his brief excursion into political satire is examined, while Dr. Dunbar gives good grounds for supposing that Murphy was the "Tragicomicus" who wrote most of the theatre papers signed with that pseudonym in Dodsley's *London Chronicle*, which C. H. Gray, in his book *Theatrical Criticism in London to 1795* (1931) considers "the first important theatrical criticism written for a regular newspaper", and therefore memorable in the history both of English journalism and of the stage.

As a critic Dr. Dunbar is restrained and modest: he does not try to claim too much for his subject, yet he does succeed in exhibiting him as something of a central figure in the English dramatic world of the day, and a number

of his plays as meriting rather more consideration than they have been accorded for the last century and a half. Yet for all that, one is left with the impression that, save for one or two pieces (*The Way to Keep Him* is the chief of them) their interest is mainly historical: they exemplify tendencies discernible in the drama of the age as a whole. His tragedies, Dr. Dunbar has to confess, are as good as the average tragedy of the time, but no better; his real achievement was in the realm of comedy, where he played a leading part in the war against sentimentalism. *The Way to Keep Him* was "a real land-mark in eighteenth century drama", combining as it does a Restoration setting with easy dialogue, a well-constructed and plausible plot and genuinely amusing incidents and situations; *Three Weeks After Marriage*, for many years a favourite stage-piece, is "an authentic comedy of manners"; *The Citizen* is "unquestionably the best of Murphy's shorter plays", while in *Vellum*, of *News from Parnassus*, Dr. Dunbar claims to discern — and he has Boaden and Foot, Murphy's first biographer, to support him — the original of Puff in Sheridan's *The Critic*. In judging the popularity of the plays he has based his opinion very largely on the evidence of London productions. This is perhaps understandable enough, but productions in the provinces have a significance too if we are to get an over-all picture, and an examination of collections of provincial playbills, such as those listed by the present writer in *Notes and Queries* for June 1st., 1946, would have revealed that Murphy's plays retained their favour with country audiences for even longer than with those of the capital.

A great deal of labour and painstaking research has quite clearly gone to the making of this book. It is fully documented, as a work of scholarship should be, it brings together and collates much scattered material (though it is noticeable that no reference is made to Ethel Cockcroft's doctoral thesis *A Study of the Life and Works of Arthur Murphy*, written in 1931 and now in the library of the University of London), while it is carefully and methodically planned and arranged. Moreover it adds considerably to our knowledge of the theatrical world of the second half of the eighteenth century, so that future research students of that period will have frequent recourse to it. But the style, though clear, precise and workmanlike, is rather prosaic. Rarely does the author succeed in making his subject live. While we can admire his scholarship and his industry we cannot feel that he has succeeded in realising the hope, expressed in the preface, "that he may have been able here and there to communicate to the reader some of the enjoyment he has derived from studying Murphy's dramas in relation to the theatrical background of the times." Stored as it is with information, his account is mainly factual and evaluating; we can read it with profit but not with pleasure.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

*The History and Principles of Vocabulary Control*, as it affects the teaching of foreign languages in general and of English in particular. By H. BONGERS. Vol. I, Parts I & II, 360 pp.; Vol. II, Part. III, 82 pp. Woerden (Holland): Wocopi, 1947. Price fl. 10.—, cloth fl. 12.50. [Utrecht diss.]

After an apprenticeship of some twenty years Dr. Bongers has presented us with his doctoral thesis, in which he surveys the whole field of word statistics and vocabulary control. For many years he has been "in close touch" with Dr. H. E. Palmer, linguistic adviser to the Department of Education in Tokyo, and director of the Institute of Research in English Teaching in Japan, whose publications and practical work have greatly influenced the views of his younger colleague.

Bongers points out that one of the first problems to be overcome before starting any systematic word-count is the difficulty of defining terms as "word", "compound", "phrase" etc., and he adopts Palmer's division into 1. "single words or monologs"; 2. "Formulas", such as "conversational expressions, sayings, proverbs, quotations and other similar collocations"; and 3. "collocations", by which are meant compounds used in a wide sense of the term so as to include any fixed combination of words not coming under 2. Dr. Bongers distinguishes between head-words and sub-words, and his own 3000-word vocabulary in three zones of 1000 words each, which makes up the second volume, consists of 3000 head-words with their derivatives and compounds added, and helping to determine by their frequency the zone to which the head-word belongs. Thus *windy*, *windmill*, *windward*, *windshield* have helped to place *wind* among the first thousand, most frequent, words in the list. This first zone is found to contain 3001 sub-words in addition to its 1000 head-words, and the complete list is made up of 9239 items. To these should be added some 6000 "collocations" collected by Palmer (Vol. I, p. 225), such as *of course*, *but for*, *leap year*, whose meanings cannot be derived from the separate parts, and an incalculable number of "Formulas". It is clear, then, that the claims to cover 97 per cent of an English text are made for a list containing not 3000 but rather more than 15000 words, as the term is commonly understood.

The problems attending vocabulary control are summed up in twenty-one points in the second part of the Carnegie Report (1936), the outcome of a conference of the leading workers in the field, held in New York in 1934 and continued in London in 1935. It consists of a number of suggestions for research work and one of the subjects mentioned would seem to be particularly urgent before a start could be made with any considerable application of the results of word statistics in European schools, viz. "A frequency study to determine the relative ease of understanding and learning English words by foreign students of specified backgrounds and training". In dealing with this problem of cognate languages Bongers gives, by way of an example, a sentence crammed with French and Latin loanwords, which, although not included in any 3000-word vocabulary, would not afford the

slightest difficulty to French pupils. And what, we should like to add, about those Dutch pupils who apart from their native language have some knowledge of French, German, Latin and Greek? Palmer teaching English to Japanese children, whose language and education would provide them with few if any previous contacts with English, was working under specially favourable circumstances for his experiments in vocabulary control.

After a historic survey of the work done in vocabulary control and a discussion of the above mentioned difficulties in defining a word-unit, Part I Ch. IV deals with Palmer's life work. Palmer's 3000-word list sub-divided into five zones, the first zone containing the 600 commonest words, etc., differs essentially from existing word-lists in that it is not based on any actual counting of words but on "vocabulary sense", though corrections were made by comparing the list with others that are. Bongers follows Palmer in relying on vocabulary sense, as when (Vol. I, p. 97) he rejects a number of words, which three statisticians, Horn, Thorndike and Dewey, independently, have found to belong to the first thousand commonest words, by stating that these words "clearly do not belong to the first or second 500 words of most frequent occurrence in everyday English." It is not quite clear what Bongers understands by "everyday English" or "any everyday English text" (Preface), though he seems to exclude "commercial correspondence and newspaper matter" (Vol. I, p. 97).

The bulk of this dissertation consists of a comparison of the principal 3000-word lists of Palmer, Thorndike, Faucett-Maki and Bongers, and as a result of analyses of ten 1000-word texts the author finds that 97.48% of the words are to be found in his own list as against 97.22 % in Palmer's. These very high percentages seem to point, as does the author's note on p. 159, to exceptionally easy texts, as Palmer himself lays claim to no more than 95 %. Here again we should like to know what the term "average English" applies to, and whether the 1000-word texts were chosen at random, starting each extract on, say, page 50, or were selected for their "normalcy", as one would select an examination paper. Before a comparison could be made Bongers first set himself the enormous task of rearranging all the lists according to the principles laid down by Palmer, and even Palmer's own five-zone list had to be remodelled into three zones of 1000 words. In comparing each list in turn with Palmer's, the author makes no allowance for the difference between the American and British varieties of English. Among the words of the Faucett-Maki list not found in Palmer's (Vol. I, p. 148) a great number, such as *American, kid, candy, congress, convention, federal, hog, lumber, pie, nickel*, to mention a few of the more obvious only, clearly point to the fact that the former have used American material, and they should not be rejected on the ground that Bongers' vocabulary sense will not recognize them and that, therefore, the material used must have been "unsuitable". The use of English texts, with the one exception of a passage from Pearl Buck, will also have influenced the, slightly lower, percentages found for the American lists of Thorndike and Faucett-Maki. This lack of discrimination must, we fear, detract from the results of

Bongers' analyses. The time has surely come to take account of American variants, not only in scientific work, but, as a former Dutch Minister of Education<sup>1</sup> has suggested, in school teaching as well.

Other chapters deal with the relative merits of some, unnamed, current school-readers and "graded" textbooks; the claims of English to become the world language; Ogden and Richards' *Basic English*, which is rejected as an international auxiliary language and a method to learn Standard English.

Though we cannot fully share Dr. Bongers' optimism as to the benefits to be derived from adopting the results of word-statistics in European schools, their indirect influence ought to be considerable, as they have provided us with standards on which every foreign language teacher will be wise to test his vocabulary sense. The author has had the great merit of introducing the subject in our midst. Vocabulary control is as yet one of the younger branches of linguistic research, and Dr. Bongers' summing-up of the results obtained so far should prove of great value. No one turning to his work is likely to be disappointed, while a very full bibliographical list will enable him to go farther afield.

Amersfoort.

I. A. S. FISCHER.

*The Intonation of American English.* By KENNETH L. PIKE.  
XI + 200 pp. University of Michigan Publications: Linguistics  
Volume I. Ann Arbor 1945. \$2.—.

In these days, when in cinemas, radio, and the streets of our Continental towns we hear as much American as British English spoken, a book describing American Intonation is a welcome gift. We all feel vaguely that the characteristic pronunciation of American English is not only due to its sounds, but just as much to its speech melody. Yet we are at a loss when asked to describe the difference between British and American Intonation. So we eagerly turn to this publication, which really fills up a gap.

Pike's study, let it be stated at the outset, is based on auditory analysis, not on instrumental data. In this respect it is on a level with the well-known handbooks of British Intonation by Armstrong & Ward, and by H. Palmer. The present publication is an extension of a purely practical book, "designed to aid Latin-American students to obtain a satisfactory pronunciation of

<sup>1</sup> Dr. G. Bolkestein, at the Annual Conference of Modern Language Teachers at Amsterdam, 29 April 1946: "Knowledge of English ..... should take first place, but not a knowledge which shuns typical variations of this language in the U.S.A. as Americanisms or, worse still, discriminates against them as slang. These Americanisms should constitute an essential part of the teaching of English in Dutch schools." (*Levende Talen*, no. 135. My translation. F.)

English". The next important step, the author says in the preface, will be the correlation of the structural system with instrumental measurements.

In Section 2.2 Pike tells us what he thinks of instrumental methods, as opposed to auditory analysis: each has its innate strengths and weaknesses. The latter is, of course, unable to give an accurate description of acoustic phenomena. On the other hand, "a graph of the actual rate of vibrations of the sound waves during an utterance does not correspond exactly with what one hears, in fact there may be considerable divergence. There are thresholds of pitch perception ... In order to be linguistically significant, a study of speech frequencies must be paralleled by the perceptual pitch scheme." (p. 14.) We agree with the author on this point. The graphs represent a physical phenomenon of great complexity, only part of which can actually be perceived by the human ear, and therefore be of linguistic significance. As no apparatus will ever distinguish between what our senses grasp and what escapes their notice, it is indispensable even for the experimentalist, if he is a linguist as well as a physicist, to supplement his graphs with the results of auditory analysis. Pike mentions an article by A. R. Root: "Pitch-Patterns and Tonal Movement in Speech" (Psychol. Monogr. 1930), in which perceptual graphs are superimposed on physical ones. This is, roughly speaking, the method which, since Zwirner's publications, has been known in Europe as "Phonometrie". E. & E. Zwirner: *Grundfragen der Phonometrie*, 1936, seems to have escaped the author's notice.

# I

The most valuable part of the book is the description of American Intonation. Here at last we get a systematic survey, supplemented with a fair number of connected texts (mostly from Sherlock Holmes). Like Palmer, to whom he is greatly indebted, Pike splits up the intonation of the sense-group into a central part, the primary contour (corresponding to Palmer's "nucleus"), which may be preceded by a pre-contour (Palmer's "head") and occasionally followed by a post-contour (Palmer's "tail"). This comparison, however, only holds good for short, single-stress sense-groups or sentences. With longer sentences the term "primary contour" is applied by Pike to the intonation of each stressed syllable, not only to the last, as is the case with Palmer's "nucleus". The author postulates four pitch levels: 1. very high 2. high 3. medium 4. low, and represents them by means of numbers. Beginnings of primary contours are marked by the symbol °, pauses by | or ||. This notation does not make easy reading — in Section 5, where P. shows how intonation can be taught in the class-room, he replaces his figures by lines on four levels, two above and two below the printed text — but it is clear and offers no typographical difficulties.

What are the chief differences between British and American Intonation, as they present themselves to a student of English Intonation, after the perusal of this book? Here is a tentative survey:

**A.** The first striking feature is the greater monotony of American Intonation. It is due to the fact that the stressed syllables of a sensegroup are generally on the same level: — — — \ instead of British — — — \, e.g.:

The 'man in the 'street is 'my 'brother (p. 61)<sup>1</sup>

3    °2 2    °2-2 | 3 °2-2 °2-4 ||  
 ...There will be 'no 'more 'cruelty, 'no 'more 'perse'cution in 'this 'house. (p. 96)  
 4    °2 °2 °2-4 | °2 °2 °2 2 °2-4 | 4 °3 °3-4 ||  
 I sup'pose you 'think you can 'read me like a 'book? (p. 139)<sup>2</sup>  
 4 4 °3 4 °3 4 4 °3 4 4 °3-4 |

The British pattern also occurs, but it is rarer, and consequently listed by Pike under the heading "Special Contours" (Section 4.3.2).

The corresponding rising pattern is — — — / instead of British — — — \. Most general questions (questions to which the answer is "yes" or "no") are intoned in this way.

You 'wished to 'see me? (p. 89) Is 'this Dr. 'Watson's? (p. 143)

3    °2 3 °2-1 |    4 °3 4 °3-2 |  
 And the 'marks here on your 'neck 'plainly 'showing the 'clutch of a 'man's 'fingers?  
                          °2 2 2    °2-1 |    °2-2    °2-1 |  
 Does 'that 'mean 'nothing 'also? (p. 90)<sup>3</sup>  
 4 °3-3 | 3 °3-2 | °3-1 |

**B.** Very often all the stressed syllables are gliding tones, either rising or falling, e.g.:

Alice: 'How can repa'ration be 'made to the 'dead?

°2-3 3    °2-3 3    °3-2 3    °2-4 |

Holmes: 'How in'deed! And for 'that 'very 'reason..... (p. 91)

°2-4 | 4 °3-4 || 4    °3-2 | °3-2 | 2-4-3 |

With short sense-groups, containing only two stresses, the following pattern is typical:

'Good 'Heavens!... (p. 116) 'Why 'not? (p. 140) 'Quite 'so. (p. 141)

°3-2    °3-4 |    °4-3 °1-4 |    °3-2 °3-4 ||

With questions there is often a double rise, e.g.:

Is the boy 'tired this (')morning? Does he 'have to (')do it? (p. 74)

3    °3-2 2    (°) 2-1 |    3    °4-2 2    (°) 2-1 |

<sup>1</sup> Hyphens are here only placed between numbers indicating the pitch of the primary contours. For typographical reasons we have dispensed with those that P. appends to pre-contours.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Maurice Baring: *Half a Minute's Silence* (Tauchnitz p. 132):

"I understand, Madam", he spoke with an even American intonation, "you wish to be supplied with a guest, who will make all the other luncheon parties look, so to speak, like thirty cents."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rudolf Marquardt: "Experimentalphonetische Untersuchungen zur Intonation des englischen Fragesatzes" (*Archiv für d. Stud. neueren Spr.* 1924 p. 47 sqq). He says that 100% of the American, but only 5% of the British general questions have rising intonation, 95% of the corresponding British questions have falling intonation with a rise at the end.

In unemphatic British intonation the stressed syllables before the last have level intonation. In emphatic speech there may be more gliding tones, either rising or falling (cf. Armstrong & Ward: *Handbook of English Intonation* p. 54 sqq and p. 70 sqq.).

**C.** At the end of a sense group, which may also be the end of a sentence, the fall-rise, usually 2—4—3, is most characteristic of American Intonation.<sup>4</sup> 15.8 % of all the contours occurring in the texts here analysed are falling-rising, e.g.:

...<sup>1</sup>But I am <sup>1</sup>sorry to <sup>1</sup>see that you are <sup>1</sup>far from <sup>1</sup>well. (p. 89)

<sup>0</sup>3 4    <sup>0</sup>2-4 4    <sup>0</sup>4 | 4 3    <sup>0</sup>2 4    <sup>0</sup>2-4-3 |  
It <sup>1</sup>seems to have oc'curred in your <sup>1</sup>own <sup>1</sup>house. (p. 90)

I am <sup>1</sup>able to as<sup>1</sup>sure you of the sin<sup>1</sup>cere penitence, the <sup>1</sup>deep re<sup>1</sup>gret, of .....  
4    <sup>0</sup>2-2 2    <sup>0</sup>2-4-3 | 4    <sup>0</sup>2-3    <sup>0</sup>2-4-3 | 4    <sup>0</sup>2-3 2    <sup>0</sup>2-4-3 |

And for <sup>1</sup>that <sup>1</sup>very <sup>1</sup>reason ..... (p. 91)

<sup>4</sup>    <sup>0</sup>3-2 | <sup>0</sup>3-2 | <sup>0</sup>2-4-3 |  
For I shall <sup>1</sup>so ar<sup>1</sup>range it ..... (p. 96)

<sup>4</sup>    <sup>0</sup>2 2    <sup>0</sup>2-4-3 |

Pike says (p. 108) that when he tried to simplify American Intonation for teaching purposes he at first did not include this contour, because it is hard for foreigners to acquire, but he soon realised that American does not sound natural without it.

In British English the fall-rise occurs much less. When it does, it suggests an implication or concession of some sort (cf. Armstrong & Ward op. cit. p. 56 and H. Palmer: *English Intonation* p. 82). The following sentence e.g. might have a fall-rise in British English too:

I <sup>1</sup>beg your <sup>1</sup>pardon, but ..... (p. 89)

<sup>4</sup> <sup>0</sup>2    4    <sup>0</sup>2-4-3 | 4

Here might be mentioned the very characteristic intonation of the word "well," e.g.:

Did you put on your overshoes? <sup>1</sup>Well, not <sup>1</sup>quite. (p. 113)

<sup>0</sup>3.4-2 |    <sup>0</sup>3.4-2 |

<sup>1</sup>Well, if it's nothing to us, suppose we leave it alone. (p. 138)

<sup>0</sup>2-4-3 |

Equally characteristic is a rise, e.g.:

<sup>1</sup>Well, what about pleasing me? (p. 136)

<sup>0</sup>4-2 |

Well, what now? (p. 137)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>0</sup>4-2 |

**D.** The differences pointed out so far are sometimes increased by a diversity of stress pattern. There is a tendency in American

<sup>4</sup> This has been pointed out before by Kemp Malone, in his article: "Pitch Patterns in English" (*Studies in Philology* XXIII 1926 p. 371-79).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. H. G. Wells: *The Secret Places of the Heart* (Tauchn. p. 120):

"Well", said the lady in grey with that rising intonation of humorous conclusion which is so distinctly American, "those Druids have got him".

English to place the first stress rather late in the sentence,<sup>6</sup> e.g. with special questions (questions containing an interrogative word). In American English the interrogative word is often unstressed and has, in consequence, low pitch, e.g.:

What do you 'ask? (p. 139)    Where has he 'gone? (p. 32)    What does he 'want? (p. 124)  
 3                    °2-4 |                    3                    °2-4 |                    3                    °2-4 |

side by side with:

'What shall I 'do, 'Sam? (p. 127)    'What does 'this mean? (p. 142)  
 °1    3    3    °1-4    °4-3 |                    °2    4    °2 — 4 |

which, as far as stress is concerned, is the usual British pattern (cf. Palmer, op. cit. p. 75). The form without stress on the interrogative word also occurs in British English, but it mostly contains an implication (cf. Palmer: op. cit. p. 73-74).

With general questions too, the first (or only) stress often occurs late, which means that the auxiliary is unstressed, e.g.:

Don't you re'member? (p. 114)    Did you put on your 'overshoes? (p. 113)  
 2                    °2 - 1 |                    3                    °3 - 2 |  
 Is he 'coming? (p. 124)  
 3                    °3 - 2 |

The most usual British pattern for questions of the above type has a stress on the auxiliary (cf. Palmer op. cit. 81). Yet the other variant is quite common too (Palmer p. 80).

Sometimes the syllables preceding the stress are pitched lower, a typically American way of intoning general questions, e.g.:

Do you 'feel all right, Owen? (p. 115)  
 3    3    2°    2    2    2    1 |  
 Have you heard what I 'bought to-day? (p. 126)  
 3                    °2    2    °2-1 |

With statements we observe the same phenomenon, e.g.:

I want to go 'home. (p. 30)    Glad you 'like it. (p. 138)  
 3                    °2-4 ||                    3                    °2-4 ||

This variant, however, is quite common in British English too (cf. Palmer op. cit. p. 73).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Pointed out already by Kemp Malone (cf. note 4).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. C. H. Grandgent: *Old and New Sundry Papers* (Harvard University Press 1920 p. 122 sqq.):

"In one respect all American dialects are surprisingly alike, and no less surprisingly different from the speech of the mother country, I mean intonation ... Our utterance is slow and monotonous, our variations of pitch are of small compass, we are greatly addicted to very slight rising-falling-rising inflections. We seem to be holding ourselves in. The Englishman, on the other hand, seems to be singing full-throated."

A and B are confirmed also by I. C. Ward's remarks on American Intonation in the 4th ed. of "The Phonetics of English" (p. 213-16), which I only read after the completion of this article.

## II

The second aspect of the book is linguistic: the author does not only describe intonation patterns, he also tries to attribute a function to them (he calls it "meaning"). Here he is on less safe ground, for the subject is extremely delicate. One kind of function, which might be called "structural", is not dealt with at all: Pike does not point to the melodic difference between restrictive and continuative relative clauses, or between alternative questions ('Are you an /Oxford or a \Cambridge man?) and general questions ('Are you an /Oxford or a /Cambridge man?), or between sentence-modifying adverbs (He /speaks \English naturally.) and word-modifying adverbs (He /speaks /English \naturally), to mention only a few striking examples of such distinctions.<sup>8</sup> Grammatical distinctions, he says, are not made by means of intonation in English. (p. 23-24). This statement is questionable, but we cannot argue the point here.

Pike deals exclusively with the subjective function of intonation; the various pitch patterns correspond to different attitudes of the speaker: surprise, politeness, hesitation, reservation, etc. This has been pointed out also by Armstrong & Ward and by Palmer. But Pike goes a step further, a long step further. He tries to apply the theory of phonemes to sentence intonation. To him the four pitch levels are not only a means of representing intonation, they are "significant pitch phonemes" (p. 25). Each contour has its "meaning", e.g. 2—4 = contrastive pointing, 3—2 = incompleteness. Within a fall-rise, the fall has one meaning, to which is added that of the rise, e.g. 2—3—2 = non-finality + implication (p. 50). Within a high rise, two elements are detected, e.g. 4—1 combines the deliberation of 4—3 with the unexpected incomplete sequence meaning of 3—1 (p. 57). Not to speak of the meaning of the pre-contour and the post-contour. — These few examples should suffice to show that Pike's analysis is highly controversial. The function of sentence intonation is not a machine that can be taken to pieces and assembled again at will. It may be true enough that the intonation of each element of the sense-group is significant, that the slightest change of intonation is expressive of some change of mood. But these variations are too subtle to be analysed in such a mechanical way.

The way the author applies the theory of phonemes to stress, quantity, pauses etc., i.e. to the accessory elements of speech<sup>9</sup>), is also open to criticism. He speaks of a phoneme of stress as opposed to one of absence of stress (p. 82), of two pause phonemes (p. 31), of phonemic quantity (p. 97)<sup>10</sup>, even of a possible phoneme of syllabicity (p. 98). It would be more appropriate to speak here of phonological correlations,<sup>11</sup> to say, e.g.,

<sup>8</sup> I am using the same notation here as in my article in *E. St.* 1946 p. 129 sqq.

<sup>9</sup> N. S. Trubetzkoy (*Grundzüge der Phonologie*, p. 166 sqq.) calls them "Prosodische Eigenschaften".

<sup>10</sup> By phonemic quantity P. does not mean a difference of length distinguishing two phonemes, like u—u: (broad transcription), but superimposed length distinctions such as: awful—aw:ful, great—gr:eat.

<sup>11</sup> Trubetzkoy: op. cit. p. 179: "Prosodische Differenzierungseigenschaften."

that stress — absence of stress can be semantically relevant in English ('permit — per|mit) and that this semantic relevance is superimposed upon the meaning of the five-phoneme-word p-e-r-m-i-t. Stress, quantity, loudness etc. have no independent existence, they are no phonemes.

In addition to this criticism, which is of a theoretical nature, we have a practical objection to Pike's notation of pauses. He does not distinguish pause / absence of pause, but postulates two pause phonemes, a tentative (|) and a final pause (||). As, with pauses, the only possible variation is one of length, we are rather surprised to hear that "either pause type may vary in length; the tentative pause is usually shorter in length (*sic*) than the final one, but it is not always so" (p. 31). We are equally astonished to see that P. distinguishes | and || also at the end of an utterance. He must be describing in terms of pause an acoustic characteristic that is of another order. And in fact we read on the same page 31: "The final pause modifies the preceding contour by lowering in some way the normal height of the end of the contour". And on p. 51: "Rising contours are rarely, if ever, followed by pauses of the final type". Pike is really describing a variety of intonation which is too slight to fit into his four-level system. To our mind the distinction is so subtle that it cannot be systematized at all, either in terms of intonation or in terms of pause, let alone be forced into the straight jacket of phonematic contrast. — An unavoidable consequence of the attempt to classify what defies classification is, that | and || are spread over the texts in a way that seems quite arbitrary, e.g.

Sup'pose we l|eave it a|lone, and get to l|business. (p. 138)

3 °2 3 °2 2 °2-4|| 4 4 4 °3 - 4 ||  
l|Manning has disap|peared, and the l|papers are l|gone. (p. 135)

°3 3 3 3-4 | 4 4 3-4 4 °2-4||

What l|is it? (p. 86) What is it? (p. 149)

4 °2-4| 3 °2-4||

\* \* \*

The impression that this book leaves behind is divided. Its chief merit, the description of American Intonation, has been dealt with at length. It is not the only one. The study begins with a detailed survey of what has been done in England and America since intonation began to attract the notice of scholars, and it ends with ten large pages of bibliography, chiefly of American studies. All this is very useful. But as soon as the author embarks upon phonology, we can no longer see eye to eye with him. We shrink from so much labelling and systematizing; it seems all wrong. Nor do we see the value of the detailed statistical survey of contours in relation to rhythm, pause and stress (pp. 150—165). All these percentages are to little purpose. America seems to be even fonder of statistics than we are. Much exchange of thought will have to cross the Atlantic, before the American and the European way of looking at things can be coordinated — not only in phonetics. That this publication should have stimulated such an exchange is not the least of its merits.

## Anglistics in the United States during the War Years

English studies, or Anglistics (the usual Continental term), is a discipline which deals with the speech and writings of the whole Anglo-Saxon world. The present paper, however, leaves out of account the study of American English and American literature in English; in other words, we here restrict ourselves to the senior branch of the Anglistic discipline, the study of British as distinguished from American speech and writings. This study has long been actively pursued in the United States. Until recent years the departments of English in most of our colleges and universities concerned themselves almost exclusively with the literature of England, and even today they give the major part of their time and attention to the mother country. Few if any of our institutions of learning can rightly be accused of literary chauvinism. Indeed, the specialists in American literature used to complain with some justice that their work did not get the recognition which was its due, though, by now, American studies have fully won their proper place in the American academic program. Moreover, the importance at present attached to American literature in the curriculum does not carry with it any tendency to minimize our European heritage. On the contrary, our educational leaders see more clearly than ever the unity of western civilization, and they recognize in particular that all writings in the English tongue make a single body of literature, the common possession of all speakers of that tongue irrespective of nationality. Our specialists in American literature remain members of the Department of English. If, nevertheless, their field is omitted from the present survey, the omission must be attributed to the fact that the writer is not himself a specialist in that field.

Our survey of Anglistics in the United States during the war years begins with a look at the curriculum. This is a program of study and instruction made up almost wholly of units known as courses. In a typical English course the teacher meets a class three or four times a week for systematic consideration of some aspect of the language or the literature. Such a course runs for a term or for a year. If it runs for a year, the class may meet only once or twice a week. A class meeting commonly lasts an academic hour (i.e. 50 minutes), but two-hour meetings are the rule in the most advanced courses, the so-called seminars, and may be resorted to in other kinds of courses for the sake of convenience.

Classified by level, the courses fall into three main groups: (1) courses for undergraduates, (2) courses open both to undergraduates and to graduate students, and (3) courses for graduate students. Only the third of these groups answers to university instruction in the educational system of Continental Europe. The second is of particular interest because it ignores a

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line of division made much of on the Continent: the distinction between schoolboy and student, marked by the baccalaureate degree or its equivalent. Our universities commonly offer many courses in each of the three groups; this multitude of courses makes a striking contrast with the program of a European university.

Classified by function, the English courses again fall into three groups: (1) practical, (2) cultural, and (3) professional. Here, too, only the third of these groups answers to Continental university instruction. The practical courses are those in speech and writing, otherwise known as oral and written composition. Through the training given in these courses one improves one's command of the English language; one learns to speak and write better. A course in writing, at least, is commonly required of all freshmen. Undergraduates who have, or who gain, unusual skill in writing may proceed to more advanced work vocational or semi-vocational in character: e.g. courses in journalism, short-story writing, essay writing, and play writing. In like manner, unusually good speakers may go on to dramatics and debating. This training in the use of the mother tongue, be it added, need not devolve upon the Department of English. Separate departments of speech, rhetoric, and journalism may be set up to give instruction of this kind. Such departments, however, must be reckoned offshoots of the Anglistic discipline as it is practised in the United States.

The cultural courses in English are almost wholly literary. Instruction in grammar at the undergraduate level is commonly practical, not cultural; more often than not, such instruction makes part of the freshman composition course, and linguistic proficiency is thought of as a mere skill, to be gained by drillwork. One linguistic course truly cultural, however, may be found in the undergraduate English program: the course in the history of the English language. Some institutions also offer a course in current English properly described as cultural. The cultural approach is regular in the literary courses for undergraduates. In the courses open both to undergraduates and to graduate students, the teacher tries, nearly always in vain, to combine the cultural with the professional approach.

Basic in the typical English program for undergraduates is the survey course in English literature. The class meetings are devoted in part to lectures, in part to reading and discussion of literary texts. By way of preparation for the meetings and for the examinations, the student reads many English masterpieces long and short, the older ones usually in more or less modernized versions. The anthologies and other texts used include, besides, a kind of connective tissue in the shape of historical narrative and background material. The survey course is designed to give the student, not merely an understanding and appreciation of the works of literary art he is reading, but also a highly simplified history of English literary culture from the seventh century to the twentieth. After this bird's-eye view of the subject, one is ready to take up intensive study of particular authors and periods with a better understanding; one sees where and how each work of art fits into the sequence of literary events. In many colleges and univer-

sities the survey course is required of all candidates for the bachelor's degree. But the required course may be of another character: a consideration of literary types. In this course the approach is formal and static rather than historical and dynamic. The great tradition of English letters is not presented as such; it is represented by chosen specimens of each *genre*, specimens studied each for itself with little regard to time and circumstance.

The elective cultural courses serve first of all the needs of the so-called English majors; that is, the undergraduates who elect English as their major subject of study. A given course is commonly restricted in scope: e.g., to one period of English literary history, to the writings of one literary artist, or the like. With this restriction goes a treatment more detailed and thorough than there is time for in the survey course: what one loses in breadth one gains in depth. The student who takes a series of such courses may well come to feel at home in our literary heritage. And the student who, though a major in another subject, chooses to take one or two English courses besides the survey, enriches thereby his cultural equipment.

The professional courses are for graduate students; that is, for men and women who are preparing themselves for a professional career as teachers and investigators. The activities of our graduate students do not differ fundamentally from those of their Continental counterparts; they take courses, write and read papers, study for examinations, and cap their labors with a doctoral dissertation. Even at the graduate level, however, the American system of education has distinctive features. Thus, the master's degree, usually conferred (if at all) after one year of graduate work, certifies that the student has had a certain amount of professional training; it also serves as a consolation prize if its recipient fails to reach the doctorate. Again, the American student has course examinations as well as general examinations to stand, and the professor under whom the doctoral dissertation is written does not dominate the situation to the same degree that he does in Europe.

More important than these divergences is the difference in the matter of specialization. Most European professors of English take all Anglistics for their province, and expect their students to do the same. Naturally a professor has his special interests, but he must give courses in all the main fields, as the typical university has only one Professor of English. In the United States, on the contrary, where a department of English with only four professors would be looked upon as extremely small, the trend toward specialization characteristic of our age has had free play, and the average professor restricts himself, or finds himself restricted, to one period or even to one author. This practice naturally influences the graduate student, who, having chosen a special field, sometimes fails to see why he should gain more than a gentlemanly acquaintance with the rest of Anglistics, since the advanced courses which he expects, some day, to teach will be courses in his field of specialization. The pressure to rest content with superficiality in all fields but one has steadily increased down the years, and though in

theory most graduate schools maintain the old comprehensiveness of training, in practice they fall short more often than not. Moreover, proficiency in kindred disciplines is rarely pursued. The average candidate for the Ph.D. in English is not at home in Latin and Greek, or even in French and German, to say nothing of Italian and Icelandic.

The teaching program of an American professor commonly calls for work at more than one level of instruction. If his university has a flourishing graduate school and he is himself an active investigator he may expect in due time to direct a seminar in his field of specialization, a seminar made up of graduate students only. The rest of his teaching is done at a lower level. Each term he will give an advanced course, commonly open both to undergraduate and to graduate students, and a more elementary course for undergraduates. The specific courses given may vary from term to term and from year to year, but their range of variation is not often great, even at the lowest level. The teaching load (as it is called) of a professor of English usually comes to eight or nine hours a week in the leading universities of the country; in institutions of lesser rank the load may be somewhat heavier. Some professors, be it added, are restricted to undergraduate, some to graduate teaching, and some universities keep graduate and undergraduate work strictly separate; but such segregation is unusual in the United States. The junior members of the English staff serve to man the required courses for undergraduates, courses taught in part or whole by sections, since a class of, say, 2000 students cannot well be handled in one group. The assistant professors and associate professors also help out with the required courses (as do the professors themselves in some institutions), but this work makes only a part of their teaching load; indeed, some of them may be lucky enough to get a teaching program which approximates that of a professor.

During the war years the curriculum outlined above was kept going as far as conditions permitted. In the academic year 1939—1940 the war did not materially reduce the student body, but thereafter the able-bodied males in steadily increasing numbers joined the armed forces and towards the end only those less than 18 years old were left on the campus. In addition, the teaching staff was greatly depleted, the younger members being subject to conscription and many volunteering for government service irrespective of age. Conscription was never applied to women in the United States, but many women likewise gave up academic life to go into the various services open to them, and to engage in war work of one kind or another. In the women's colleges and in the coeducational institutions, however, the English program could be kept going without serious difficulty, since a sufficient supply of students remained, at all levels of instruction. In the men's colleges, and in those graduate schools to which few or no women were admitted, the shrinkage of the student body reduced to a mere handful the takers of graduate and advanced undergraduate courses in English; for want of such takers, indeed, some of these courses could not be given at all. On the other hand, the members of the English staff who stayed in residence had to do not only their regular teaching but also the

teaching which their absent departmental colleagues would normally have done. Moreover, those who had the needful minimum qualifications might be called upon to teach mathematics, geography, history, and other subjects for which the shortage of teachers was acute. Needless to add, the Anglicists, in common with patriotic citizens everywhere, undertook war work of the most varied character on top of their ordinary and extraordinary academic duties.

In the nature of the case the war prevented or interrupted the training of many prospective Anglicists. Some of these have now begun or resumed their professional studies, but some have lost their lives and some have gone into other kinds of work. Of those already trained and at the start of their professional career when war called them into the armed forces, most have come back to academic life but need time to recover lost ground. Since few men were available for training during the war years, a serious shortage of teachers of English has now developed in our colleges and universities, a shortage made worse by the great increase in the number of students. It will be many a year before this shortage is made up. In the meantime the English staff will do its work as best it can despite an abnormally heavy teaching load and overcrowded classes.

The abnormal conditions of the war years, and the widespread expectation that the post-war world would be radically different from anything ever before known, naturally led to much taking of thought in the universities as elsewhere. In many institutions committees were set up to review the academic scene and recommend such changes as seemed wise. Included in the terms of reference might be not only the course of study proper but also such matters as limitation of enrolment, maintenance of a balanced student body (e.g., as between scientific and humanistic "majors"), improvement of the intellectual quality of students and staff, and the like. As one would expect, these committees usually devoted most of their time and attention to the undergraduate curriculum.

In this paper we are restricted, of course, to the discussions of the work in English, as found in committee reports and elsewhere. The teaching of English has been under fire ever since the Anglistic discipline won a place in the academic program, and it cannot rightly be claimed that recent discussion of our problems is notable for novelty. Now as always the attention of most of the critics is centered upon the two required undergraduate courses: that in writing and that in literature. Let us look briefly at each.

The required course in English composition has long been criticized as mere drillwork, given at a level which would be appropriate in secondary schools but which is out of place in college. Everybody knows that the average freshman enters college without the skill in speech and writing needful for college work. No doubt he ought to gain this skill in the secondary school, but in fact he does not. Since nearly all applicants for admission are weak here, few colleges undertake to admit only those applicants who speak and write well. Most institutions provide an

elementary course in writing required of all freshmen except those who pass a proficiency test or otherwise show that they have the needful skill. In the course the students usually get competent remedial instruction and learn to write an English free from gross errors. Unluckily they often fail to keep their newly acquired skill, once the supervising hand of the English teacher is removed. The bad habits of a lifetime do not yield to good habits by the end of a course that meets three hours a week for a term or two.

Obviously, if the habit of good writing is to be firmly and securely established, the average student needs supervision throughout his college career. Every paper in every course he takes, whatever the subject, should be criticized, revised, and weighed in terms of form as well as content. That this is a desideratum has been widely recognized. As a rule, however, the committees do no more than repeat what has so often been said before; namely, that not only the teachers of English but all members of the teaching staff shall maintain high standards of speech and writing in their respective classes. The staff willingly pays lip service to this program, but in practice the average teacher is so absorbed in his subject that he has little time left for formal criticism stylistic or structural. By way of exception, the post-war planning committee at Johns Hopkins recommends that each undergraduate, upon absolving the required course in English writing, be assigned to a member of the English staff, who shall read and criticize the student's papers in all courses.

But supervision alone will not meet the issue. The required course in English writing deals with vocabulary, spelling and pronunciation, punctuation, morphology and syntax, stylistics, organization of material, and many related matters, all capable of treatment on the intellectual level to be expected in college. So treated, the course might well come alive in a way not possible for mere drillwork. No subject arouses much interest unless presented as something worthy of study in its own right. Skill in speech and writing is an extremely valuable tool, but emphasis upon this fact never yet stirred anybody to the intellectual excitement needed if the skill is to be gained. In classical antiquity rhetoric flourished as an intellectual discipline, pursued with enthusiasm for its own sake, and the many problems involved in linguistic self-expression can surely be set forth now, as they were set forth then, in a manner challenging and stimulating to young students. We cannot bring back the cultural climate of the ancient world, but we can vitalize the course in English composition by an approach less practical and utilitarian than that now customary, an approach in which more emphasis is put on the linguistic process as an object of scientific curiosity. Unhappily the various reports before me as I write have little or nothing to say about this aspect of the matter.

The required course in English literature, whether a survey or a study of literary types, has never suited everybody, for reasons too many to mention. During the war years, however, its limitation in scope to English has come under special attack, and in some of the new programs (e.g., that at Harvard) the required literary course takes for subject matter the so-called

great books, or some of them. These books are studied, not in their original tongues, unless indeed the tongue happens to be English, but at second hand, in English translations. This feature of the great-book course shows plainly enough that the great books interest the proponents of the course, not as masterpieces of literary art, but as documents useful in studying the history of civilization. Thus, reading the *Iliad* makes one realize that the early Greeks had very primitive ideas about religion. The non-esthetic orientation characteristic of all great-book courses comes out beautifully in the Harvard report: "The chief reason for the course ... is that too many students today have too little contact with thoughts which are beyond them" (p. 207). Such contact has its value, but this value obviously does not lie in the realm of literary art, and the title "Great Texts of Literature" given to the Harvard course must be pronounced misleading. The colleges which substitute a great-book course for the required course in English literature are, in effect, changing the requirement from one in literature to one in the history of ideas.

We have seen that the war stimulated criticism of the undergraduate program. It seems to have brought about less discussion of the graduate work in English, though echoes of the earlier revolt against positivism may still be heard. In 1944 a lively debate took place in the *Sewanee Review* (52.537-571) on the training in neo-Aristotelian literary criticism which the graduate students in English get at the University of Chicago. The debate cannot be summarized here; to an outsider the training given seems worth while but not markedly novel and not, as yet, productive of important fruit. In general, the technics of linguistic and literary investigation taught before the war are still taught, and learned opinion about them has changed little if at all.

The Anglicists of America have no professional organization of their own. The nearest approach to such an organization is the Modern Language Association of America, made up, as the name indicates, not only of Anglicists but also of specialists in the other modern languages. Many Anglicists also belong to other learned societies, such as the American Philological Association, the Linguistic Society of America, the Mediaeval Academy of America, the American Folklore Society, the History of Science Society, and the American Society for Aesthetics. Learned bodies made up wholly or almost wholly of Anglicists are the Shakespeare Association of America and the American Dialect Society. There also exists a National Council of Teachers of English, made up chiefly of teachers in the public schools and teachers' colleges, but with a considerable following in the universities as well. This organization has a college section which publishes a monthly journal, *College English*. The National Council is concerned primarily with the problems of teaching rather than with literary and linguistic investigation. The same applies to the College English Association, a new and growing body the scope of which is indicated by the name. The Speech Association of America should also be mentioned

here; most of its members are teachers of speech; debating, dramatics, and the like.

The activities of all these bodies were greatly restricted during the war years. In particular, national and regional meetings had to be canceled, or turned into local meetings, because of travel restrictions and housing difficulties. Many of the members, besides, entered the armed forces or devoted themselves to other forms of war work, giving up for the time all professional and academic pursuits. The publications of the various societies, however, continued throughout the war, though in some cases with a reduction in amount. Of the research projects under way, some had to be suspended but others were kept going. In general, the war brought about a diminution but by no means a stoppage of the organizational activities.

A number of colleges and universities held special English conferences or institutes during the war years. Most of these were for the benefit of Latin American students and teachers who had come to this country for a limited time, by special arrangement, to improve their knowledge of American civilization generally. The sessions were variously known as English Institute, English Language Institute, Special Term for Latin American Teachers of English, Special Project for Cuban Teachers of English, and the like. The term of instruction usually varied between five and eight weeks, though somewhat longer in at least one case. The students devoted all their time, during this short term, to the work of the institute; in other words, the instruction was intensive in character. The groups under instruction were commonly small: the largest group of which I have any report consisted of 26 persons. In the work the English departments cooperated with other departments such as speech, history, and education. The war stimulated such work, of course, since the institutes tied in beautifully with our effort to bring about closer relations with our neighbors to the south.

The annual English Institute held at Columbia University in September, 1939—1942, differed from the others in that it was concerned, not with Latin America but with problems of research in the various Anglistic fields. Each session lasted a few days only, and might be described as a meeting of professional scholars, at which papers were read and discussed much as is the custom at regular meetings of learned societies. The smallness of the group, however (about 100 on the average), made for an intimacy greater than is possible at the usual learned meeting. War conditions led to a suspension of the institute with the session of 1942, but now that peace has come a new series of sessions is contemplated. The papers read at the four sessions have been published in as many volumes.

Research and publication during the war years continued with less diminution than might have been expected, though the number of books published fell off sharply. In measuring the quantity of publication, I have used the annual "American bibliography" of Anglistics got out by the

Modern Language Association of America as part of its annual volume of Publications. This bibliography is restricted (though not rigidly so) to the writings of American scholars. In preparing the statistics given below, I have of course left out of the reckoning the items which have to do with American speech and American literature. Of the remaining items, books published in the various Anglistic fields came to a total of 896 in the seven war years, as follows:

1939	183	1943	97
1940	196	1944	68
1941	145	1945	96
1942	112		

The fall in number which these statistics reveal came about largely if not chiefly through the paper shortage and the shortage of typesetters. The publishing houses, forced to bring out fewer books, naturally published those works which would have the largest sales, and their lists, in the circumstances, included few specimens of Anglistic scholarship. The scholars more than ever had to fall back on the university presses, which, though likewise subject to paper rationing, continued to publish works of limited circulation. These outside factors had less effect on the learned and semi-learned journals, the size of which, though somewhat reduced, was by no means halved. Indeed, the launching of several new journals during the war more than made up for the reduction in the size of the old journals. In these old and new journals about 580 papers (short and long) on Anglistic topics came out yearly, on the average, during the war. The exact figures for the seven years follow:

1939	598	1943	596
1940	602	1944	574
1941	544	1945	624
1942	532		

It will be seen that periodical publication held its own remarkably well.

If we leave American English and American literature in English out of the picture, there existed in the United States, before the war, three learned journals devoted exclusively to Anglistics, each restricted to a part of the discipline, the part indicated by its name: the *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, the *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, and *ELH* (i.e. *English Literary History*). To this group a new journal, *The Explicator*, devoted to textual exegesis, was added during the war. Of the two journals for Germanic studies, the *Germanic Review* has never printed anything strictly Anglistic, but the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, as its name indicates, serves all the Germanic disciplines with special emphasis on Anglistics. Four journals serve the modern languages as a group, English included:

PMLA (i.e. Publications of the Modern Language Association), Modern Language Notes, Modern Philology, and the Modern Language Quarterly. The last-named journal began publication during the war. Two other journals, of a more general character, publish many papers on Anglistic topics: *Studies in Philology* and the *Philological Quarterly*. The *American Journal of Philology* is chiefly devoted to Greek and Roman Studies but occasionally prints an Anglistic article. The journals *Language* and *Speculum* regularly print Anglistic papers concerned with linguistics and medieval studies respectively. The new periodicals *Theatre Annual*, *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, *Studies in Linguistics*, and *Medievalia et Humanistica*, all started during the war, are open to Anglistic papers in the fields indicated by their names. Four other learned journals should be mentioned: *Journal of American Folklore*, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, *Isis*, and *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*. All four not infrequently publish papers by Anglicists or of interest to Anglicists. Be it added that American scholars also publish papers in foreign learned journals, especially those of Canada, England and Germany. Throughout the war American contributions continued to appear in British journals.

Alongside the learned journals, there exist serial publications of learned societies, academies, and universities in which Anglicists publish papers and monographs. Examples: *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*; *University of California Publications in English*; *University of Texas ... Studies in English*. Learned papers also appear in the many homage volumes got out in honor of elderly scholars. The following Anglicists were honored in this way during the war years: Carleton Brown, Alexander M. Drummond, John C. Metcalf, William A. Neilson, R. D. O'Leary, William A. Read, George F. Reynolds, and S. L. Whitcomb. Institutional anniversary or centennial volumes likewise come out from time to time, made up of learned papers on a variety of subjects, including Anglistics. Example: *Stanford Studies in Language and Literature, 1941: Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of Stanford University*.

In addition to the learned journals a number of periodicals half learned, half popular in character are published. Many of them are university or college publications, or are connected in some other way with the academic world. Examples: *The American Scholar*, *Emory University Quarterly*, *Kenyon Review*, *Sewanee Review*, *University Review*, *Yale Review*. Anglicists contribute to such journals; they may even edit them. Such activity usually comes under the head of journalism rather than of scholarship, but the distinction does not always hold, particularly in criticism. In the survey of research which follows, these journals have been taken into account.

A survey of the work done during the war years in the various Anglistic fields may conveniently begin with linguistics. The number of books and papers that came out in this field is given below:

year	books	papers	year	books	papers
1939	11	35	1943	6	32
1940	7	42	1944	5	52
1941	3	14	1945	3	33
1942	7	23			

To this should be added eight unpublished dissertations. These figures show that linguistic investigation made a very small part indeed of the wartime activities of the Anglicists of the United States. Even more meager is the record of studies in metrics: two books and 14 papers during the seven-year period, together with an unpublished dissertation. One of the books, however, J. C. Pope's *Rhythm of Beowulf*, is a contribution of the first importance.

Publications dealing with the literature of the Old English period were also comparatively few in number: a total of 17 books and 94 papers, together with abstracts of six unpublished dissertations. No less than three of the books are worthy of special mention: R. J. Menner's edition of *Solomon and Saturn*; E. V. K. Dobbie's edition of *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems* (i.e. the poems not in the six major MSS); and H. D. Meritt's collection of *Old English Glosses*.

The literature of the Middle English period had more attention. The following figures are indicative:

year	books	papers	unpub. diss.	year	books	papers	unpub. diss.
1939	13	58	4	1943	4	56	5
1940	11	66	1	1944	3	46	5
1941	8	64	5	1945	2	70	11
1942	6	57	9				

Of these, nine books, 154 papers, and six dissertations are about Chaucer. Books of special note are: *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, edited by Carleton Brown; *Index of Middle English Verse*, by Carleton Brown and R. H. Robbins; *On Rereading Chaucer*, by H. R. Patch; *The Literary Relationships of Chaucer's Clerkes Tale*, by J. B. Severs; *The Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, edited by W. F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster; and *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* (8 vols.), edited by J. M. Manly and Edith Rickert. The last-named work in particular is one of the great monuments of American Anglistic scholarship, a landmark in the history of textual criticism.

But it is not until we reach the literature of the sixteenth century that the volume of research and publication becomes impressive. The statistics which follow speak for themselves:

year	books	papers	unpub. diss.	year	books	papers	unpub. diss.
1939	37	151	12	1943	21	128	6
1940	45	121	4	1944	13	118	15
1941	44	154	6	1945	20	139	18
1942	25	125	21				

Of these, 66 books, 387 papers, and 12 dissertations dealt with Shakespeare. As one goes from year to year one notes that no serious decline took place until 1942, and even then the decrease in the number of books is balanced, in a way, by the increase in the number of doctoral dissertations. It must be said, however, that many universities make no report on dissertations, or at any rate many reports fail to reach the bibliographers. The figures for unpublished dissertations, therefore, here and elsewhere in this paper, are to be reckoned partial only.

Some of the books in the sixteenth-century field need special mention. Two more volumes of the Variorum edition of the Works of Edmund Spenser have come out: Vol. I of the Minor Poems, edited by C. G. Osgood and H. G. Lottspeich; and the Life of Spenser, by A. C. Judson. An important monograph on Spenser is that of Josephine W. Bennett, *The Evolution of The Faerie Queene*. The late J. W. Hebel's big edition of Drayton has now been completed, with the publication of Vol. V. The masterly monograph of G. R. Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre*, has thrown much light on the history of the stage. The new Variorum Shakespeare has been advanced by the appearance of *The Second Part of King Henry IV*, edited by M. A. Shaaber, and of the *Sonnets* (2 vols.), edited by Hyder Rollins. Our knowledge of the schools of Shakespeare's time is now far greater than it ever was before, thanks to T. W. Baldwin's exhaustive work, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* (2 vols.). L. B. Wright in his *Religion and Empire* has given us insight into another important aspect of the same background.

The literature of the seventeenth century also claimed a good deal of attention in wartime, though not so actively pursued as that of the sixteenth. Here are the figures:

year	books	papers	unpub. diss.	year	books	papers	unpub. diss.
1939	31	78	7	1943	11	84	9
1940	27	52	5	1944	12	56	6
1941	16	81	6	1945	10	32	8
1942	14	65	20				

Of these, 19 books, 159 papers, and 18 dissertations had Milton for subject. Notable among the books are: D. Bush's *English Literature in the earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600—1660*; G. E. Bentley's *Jacobean and Caroline Stage* (2 vols.), F. A. Patterson and F. R. Fogle's *Index to the Columbia*

Edition of the Works of John Milton (2 vols.); H. F. Fletcher's edition of John Milton's Complete Poetical Works, Vol. I, with an elaborate presentation of textual variants; and D. M. Wolfe's edition of Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution, documents of great interest to Anglicists as well as to political historians.

The work done during the war years on the literature of the eighteenth century was substantial in quantity. The usual statistics follow:

year	books	papers	unpub. diss.	year	books	papers	unpub. diss.
1939	29	85	0	1943	12	75	11
1940	26	85	4	1944	9	66	6
1941	23	55	10	1945	15	103	3
1942	10	77	12				

Especially noteworthy among the books are: the Yale edition of the correspondence of Horace Walpole, to be complete in some 50 volumes, of which vols. III-XII came out during our seven-year period; H. J. Davis's edition of the prose works of Jonathan Swift, of which vols. I-III, X, and XI came out during our period; C. D. Thorpe's *Aesthetic Theory of Thomas Hobbes*; D. N. Smith and E. L. McAdams's edition of the poems of Samuel Johnson; E. N. Hooker's edition of the critical works of John Dennis (2 vols.); K. C. Balderston's edition of the diary of Mrs. Thrale (2 vols.); J. W. Krutch's study of Samuel Johnson; and the editions of Addison's *Letters* and Steele's *Correspondence* by Walter Graham and Rae Blanchard respectively.

The volume of research and publication rises when we come to the literature of the nineteenth century. The following figures tell the quantitative story:

year	books	papers	unpub. diss.	year	books	papers	unpub. diss.
1939	26	117	16	1943	14	133	7
1940	37	143	9	1944	13	134	15
1941	22	110	11	1945	31	157	7
1942	27	97	30				

Of the books, only four need be named here: R. D. Havens's *thorough* and penetrating analysis, *The Mind of a Poet* (Wordsworth); N. I. White's *Shelley* (2 vols.); W. J. Bate's study of *The Stylistic Development of Keats*; and G. W. Ray's edition of *The Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray* (2 vols., with two more to come).

The literature of the present century has as yet received comparatively little attention in our graduate schools. The statistics which follow include an unusually large proportion of books and papers by private or journalistic rather than academic authors:

year	books	papers	unpub. diss.	year	books	papers	unpub. diss.
1939	10	32	3	1943	5	45	0
1940	10	39	2	1944	5	56	2
1941	7	35	1	1945	2	58	1
1942	8	46	2				

The time has not yet come to assess the contributions to knowledge in this field; we are still too close for a proper perspective.

There have been a number of publications which resist classification under any of the heads given above. These miscellaneous items are brought together in the table below:

year	books	papers	unpub. diss.	year	books	papers	unpub. diss.
1939	21	26	2	1943	20	27	1
1940	31	34	0	1944	7	35	6
1941	18	17	2	1945	12	17	0
1942	13	31	3				

Of the books, the following are of special interest to scholars: *Modern Poetry and the Tradition*, by Cleanth Brooks; *Annals of the English Stage*, by A. B. Harbage; *The Crooked Rib*, by F. L. Utley; *A Romantic View of Poetry*, by J. W. Beach; *From Shakespeare to Joyce*, by E. E. Stoll; and *Poetry as a Means of Grace*, by C. G. Osgood.

It may be well to analyze somewhat more closely some aspect of Anglistic study during the war years. For this I have chosen the 66 books about Shakespeare. Nearly a third of them are editions. These fall into two groups: 17 textbooks for students, and four texts edited for scholars. Next in size comes the group devoted to criticism, 15 books in all; e.g., *Shakespeare's Satire*, by O. J. Campbell. There are seven volumes of bibliography, exemplified by S. A. Tannenbaum's *Concise Bibliography of The Merchant of Venice*. Textual criticism is represented by one work only, L. Kirschbaum's monograph on *King Lear*. Two books deal with the history of critical opinion about Shakespeare; notable here is G. E. Bentley's *Shakespeare and Jonson, their Reputations in the Seventeenth Century Compared* (2 vols.). Four books take up stagecraft and technical detail; thus, A. C. Sprague's *Shakespeare and the Actors* treats stage business in the plays as performed since the Restoration. Four books present background material, as the huge work of T. W. Baldwin's mentioned above. Two books publish Shakespearian records and the like, as *The Shakespeare Documents* (2 vols.) of B. R. Lewis. Some of the books attempt general treatments of the subject; the best of these is *The Art and Life of William Shakespeare*, by the late Hazelton Spencer. Some of the 66 books are better left unclassified, as Margaret Webster's *Shakespeare without Tears*.

American scholarship has long been strong in bibliographical aids. This

continued to be the case during the war years. Two handbooks of this kind, useful to students, came out during our period: *A Concise Bibliography for Students of English*, by A. G. Kennedy, and *A Bibliographical Manual for Students of the Language and Literature of England and the United States* (2d ed.), by J. W. Spargo. For the annual bibliography of the Modern Language Association see above. Of the annual bibliographies each devoted to a single period, that on English Literature 1660-1800, published in the *Philological Quarterly*, began as early as 1926, and that on Recent Literature of the Renaissance, published in *Studies in Philology*, goes even further back, though before 1939 it was restricted to the English Renaissance. The *Victorian Bibliography*, published in *Modern Philology*, began in 1933; the bibliography of the Romantic Movement, published in *ELH*, began in 1937. The only annual bibliography started during the war is that of *Critical Arthurian Literature*, in the *Modern Language Quarterly*. It dates from 1940, but its first instalment covers a period of years.

It would be possible to take up in greater detail many other aspects of Anglistic work during the war years, but limitations of space forbid. It remains to speak of special wartime activities. Of these the spokesman for the Anglistic discipline can make little boast. The English staff took an active part, of course, in the so-called ASTP and V-12 courses of study set up by army and navy respectively in most of the colleges and universities of the nation. Work in English composition (oral and written) at the freshman level was a requirement in both programs, and the navy provided, besides, for a limited amount of literary study. Many soldiers and sailors studied English for a time by virtue of this program, and we believe they got good training as far as it went. The teachers of English in the schools set up for service men overseas likewise did their part, and many individual Anglicists served in a great variety of capacities during the war, in and out of uniform, doing such work as their special aptitudes and training led them to take up, but these activities had little or no direct relation to the discipline as such.

In sum, Anglistics maintained itself during the war years as a going concern. It did not become a casualty. It has for a long time served our people as the major humanistic discipline, the chief bearer of the literary tradition of western civilization, having taken over (in the United States, at least) the leadership which once belonged to classical philology. In the nature of the case the mother tongue is the great vehicle of culture, and in English-speaking countries the Anglicist has this vehicle in his keeping. His performance, past and present, leaves much to be desired, but the discipline which he so inadequately represents may be trusted to inspire generation after generation of scholars and to make their labors fruitful for the nation and all mankind.

## Notes and News

### 'I had heard her cried'

Going through *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. (1940) for the EETS by Prof. Sanford Brown Meech, I came across three text-emendations for which there is no call. They are:

- 1) p. 105,8, 'þei had neuyr herd hir *cryed* [changed to *cryen*] beforetyme.'
  - 2) p. 109,7, 'So þei dalyid of God. &. whan he had herd hir *dalyid* [changed to *dalyin*, in spite of the form *dalyd* in red in the outer margin of the MS.] a good while, he preyd hir to mete.'
  - 3) p. 105,21, 'folke ... seyð þat sche howlyd as it *ben* a dogge.' [Changed to 'as it had ben'.]
- (P. 126,7, 'þe woman had herd owr Lord *prechyð*' is left unchanged.)

In *Neophilologus* xxx, 1 (1946) I have shown that this type of construction was not un-idiomatic in earlier English. Among the instances adduced in that article (ranging from 1529—1662) are: Shakesp., Rich. iii, III, v. 55, 'We would have had you *heard* The traitor speak'. | Heywood, Wise-woman of Hogsdon II, ii, 273, 'Now would you haue had me *despaired*'. | Swift, Wks. iv, 433, 'Dr. D'Avenant would have had me *gone*'. | Sir Sam. Tuke, The Adv. of Five Hours, v, 'But I had rather *t'had* been let alone'. — I have tried to prove that the construction arose from the elision of *have* before the past participle, through the intermediate stages *a*, *ə*. Indeed the reduction of *have* to *a* is abundantly represented in *The Book of Margery Kempe*, e.g. p. 54, 35, 'Sche had leuar a sufferyd ...' | p. 47,11, 'þat thyng ... xuld a be don'. | p. 118, 22, 'I was in poynt to a ben put in preson.'

Nijmegen.

F. TH. VISSER.

### Samuel Butler and his sister Mary — a new letter

By the kindness of the owner, Mrs. W. Gretton of Rawmarsh and of Professor and Mrs. Krebs of Sheffield I am able to print a letter written by Miss Mary Butler soon after the death of her brother Samuel (*Erewhon*) Butler which throws into strong relief the relations between them, and supplements what Mrs. R. S. Garnett wrote of Mary Butler in her book *Samuel Butler and his Family Relations* (1926).

When Butler's father was Rector of Langar-cum-Barnstone near Bingham, Notts., he had among his favourite parishioners the family of the village blacksmith, William Gretton, who also kept a small farm. In 1876 the Rev. Thomas retired to Wilderhope House, Shrewsbury, and was succeeded by a Mr. Wood. ('They have gone to a house with a mocking name', wrote

the malicious Samuel, 'but it is quite innocent.') Interest in Langar was kept up by occasional visits and correspondence; thus we find Mary Butler giving rhyming news of the parish to her niece in 1883 :

We heard today from Maggie Goodwin, who tells us Mr. Wood has got another baby son. Poor Langar ! It is all undone ! The farms don't sell, the landlord's smashed. The folks are mournful and abashed ... and Gretton carries every day, two cans, nor rests upon the way. His cows at Barnstone, he at Langar ! and yet he bears it without anger ! (Garnett, p. 74.)

Samuel Butler rarely visited Langar after he returned from New Zealand in 1864. Two of Gretton's daughters, Jane and Eliza, died; his son William, after starting in his father's trade, moved when about 21 to Rawmarsh near Rotherham in Yorkshire, and was colliery engineer at Roundwood until he retired to live at Granby near his birthplace. After Butler died, in June 1902, this second William Gretton wrote Mary Butler a letter of sympathy in which he said that he would like to read *Erewhon*. This was her reply, dated Sept. 25, 1902 :

Dear William Gretton,

How well I remember you all and how long ago the Langar days seem ! which were so happy. I wonder who is there now that Mr. Wood has died.

I was very glad to hear of you, and thank you much, as does my sister for your sympathy and for your remembrance.

Our brother's death was a very great sorrow to us. He was often staying here — He was taken gravely ill in Italy, and with great difficulty reached England, too ill for us to see him again.

I am going to ask you *not* to read 'Erewhon'. It is brilliantly clever, and in these days cleverness seems to come first in people's minds. But I do not know whether you are aware that our greatest grief was that for many years our brother, who was so loveable, had cast off all his Christian belief, and many of his books were aimed at upsetting all that is dearest to Christian souls. This was a great sorrow to our dear father and mother long ago, and has been a great sorrow to us — and I think if he is now allowed to see things with clearer eyes, (and I cannot but believe and hope he is, for I know Christ *loved him*, and his life was pure, kind and upright) he must deeply regret it too.

It is far easier to be puzzled by a book of that kind, than to be able to answer it, because one may not have knowledge enough, and so I would ask you to let *Erewhon* alone — One book of his called *Alps and Sanctuaries* you might like to see if it is in any library from which you can get books, and you might be interested in his translations of Homer's great poems the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* — but his books are *expensive* and I do not know how to tell you how to see them, except through a library. The others are mostly scientific, and are rapidly passing out of date.

I send you as a loan — please return it when read — the first little volume which my father published, of his letters from New Zealand. I send stamps and wrapper for return.

I often think of your old father and mother, and how I had tea with your father and Rebekah the last time I was at Langar. And dear Jane ! whom I remember so well, and Eliza — both so long at rest in the Paradise of God. I am *sure* they would say 'Do not — and especially if you don't read many books, choose such as may do harm' — You will know how great a sorrow it is to write this, when we *loved* our brother so.

I am, with thanks for your letter,

Yours very truly,

Mary Butler.

My brother also wrote an interesting life of our grandfather, Bishop Butler, which is a big book in 2 vols. which you could get from a library and might like to see. Many people think it his best book.

I think you will see that in warning you a little about *Erewhon*, I would also like to warn you not to recommend it to other men.

This letter has three main points of interest. It reflects the uneasy personal relationships which marred all Butler's adult intercourse with his family; it shows Mary's sweetness and piety, her transparent candour and anxiety for his spiritual welfare; and it is one more proof of the lasting pain caused to the family by the publication and popularity of *Erewhon*.

As Butler himself said, the only member of his family with whom he did not quarrel was his infant brother William who died when Samuel was three! Repressed and misunderstood by his godly parents, he broke away from their way of life, and was never forgiven for his public (and private) mockery of their orthodox religious and social beliefs. Though he hated his father and despised his sister's minds, he could never finally break with them nor they with him. Though they dreaded his coming, Harriet and Mary pressed him to visit them, and he sometimes went, when the ambivalence in their affection made them all wretched, for Harriet was stiff and unbending and Mary tried hard to understand him while shrinking from his ideas, and he, oppressed by their disapproval and ignorance, countered with wit, satire, and a deliberate flouting of all they held dear. In this letter Mary is trying to forget such occasions and to see him as she hoped he really was, fundamentally kind and good.

Butler had fallen ill in Italy in March, and got back to London on May 20, as he wrote, 'with great difficulty ... in a state of extreme weakness and with little hope of recovery' (H. F. Jones, *Life* II. 394). His niece saw him in the nursing home, and he 'declined to see his sisters. Really, he was quite unfit for such a trying interview as that would have been for them all; he was much too weak' (Richards, p. 141). Mary herself was unwell, but after his death she visited the home and his rooms at Clifford's Inn. She also invited Jones to Shrewsbury at the end of June and questioned him about her brother's beliefs in his last days. Both his account (*Life* II. 406-7) and the record she made of their talk (Richards, 144-6) shows how eagerly she seized on the slightest evidence that Butler was not beyond salvation. ('Mr. Jones says that S. had a very real childlike practical belief in God. He often talked of God very simply and naturally ... &c.') Our letter bears out what Jones tells us she said to him 'that now perhaps he saw things more clearly than he had seen them during his life — perhaps he now understood his father better' (*Life* II. 406). There is something very touching in her faith.

Also of her interview with Jones she noted:

I spoke of the pain of *Erewhon*, etc. (not the home side but the religious side). He said Sam could never understand that at all. He aimed at what he thought *shams*, but if he ever could have grasped how it hurt those in earnest, it would have grieved him terribly. (Richards, 145).

*Erewhon* was a twofold catastrophe to Mary, by its contents, and by the circumstances of its publication. For it appeared in 1872 when her mother was grievously ill, and was regarded by her father as having hastened his wife's death. (She cannot have read the book, nor did Rev. Thomas, — but she may have been told of its nature.) Butler himself was shocked :

Had I known how ill my poor mother was, I could not have brought out or even written such a book at such a time; but her recovery was confidently expected till within a fortnight of her death ... I must own that I feel there is something peculiarly unsuitable in the time of my book's appearing; but it was actually published before I was aware of the circumstances. I am thankful that she can never know. (To C. Darwin, 15.4.73.)

In the light of all this, William Gretton's innocent tactlessness in his letter of condolence must have been for Mary the twist of a knife in a wound. It was characteristic of her not to shirk what she considered her duty — to warn him off such reading even though it meant revealing old griefs. Note that she does not mention by name *The Fair Haven* and other directly anti-Christian writings; and the evolutionary *Life and Habit &c.* she dismissed as 'rapidly passing out of date', ignorant that they were being read by that youngish dramatist Mr. G. B. Shaw, who was to give their ideas a life as long may be as Methusaleh's. She recommends Samuel's most innocuous works, and sends a copy of *A First Year in Canterbury Settlement* (1863), which the Rev. Thomas had proudly compiled from his son's letters, journals, and one or two articles.

How maliciously Samuel would have giped at this aspect of the letter! Long ago he had written to his friend Miss Savage :

My sister Mary has been sending for my nephew from Liverpool, and has been 'telling him some truths' — this seems to have made her ill for some days. If she has really been telling anyone the truth I wonder it did not kill her out and out. She seems all right again now. I suppose she has left off speaking the truth. How careful we ought to be. (*Letters to Miss Savage*, p. 271, Sept. 22, 1884.)

Clearly there could be no understanding between this cuckoo in the nest and the poor birds he so cruelly maltreated. Soon after Mary wrote to Gretton her forgiveness of Samuel's many trespasses she was shocked by the publication (against his expressed wish) of *The Way of All Flesh* (1903) — a final, posthumous blow at the family. It hit her hard, but at least it gave her an inkling of what had been wrong from the start :

'If only I had understood earlier', she said, 'I was too young to know! if I had seen then, I might have done so much to help!'

One questions it; but had she been successful, we should not have had the wit, the wide-ranging irony and iconoclasm with which Samuel Butler disguised his weakness and loneliness.

King's College, London.

G. BULLOUGH.

## Reviews

*Johnson Agonistes.* By BERTRAND H. BRONSON. Cambridge University Press. 1946. Price 8/6.

This book comprises three long essays, all of great interest to the student of Johnson and the observer of human nature alike. 'Johnson Agonistes', the opening essay, presents the dynamic and rebellious aspects of the literary dictator's character. Johnson wrote of Swift's prose that 'it instructs but does not persuade'<sup>1</sup>; and his own prose and verse does both. Many readers either avoid Johnson because of the instruction or merely accept the persuasion; but Mr. Bronson reveals the emotional tension in Johnson which underlay his own persuasion and education of himself — tension, that is, in the sense in which Professor Nichol Smith emphasised, in his Oxford lectures, that with Johnson emotion and intellect were generally directed to the same object. Mr. Bronson makes a strong case for the unruly and turbulent nature of the man, which compels us to be more ready to hearken to the instruction and the persuasion together. This understanding of Johnson's character leads, in the third essay, on *Irene*, to a more convincing explanation of Johnson's marriage than usual, and Mrs. Johnson's character, as seen and loved by Johnson, is discovered in Aspasia rather than Irene. Irene is charming, but it was her position rather than her character that interested Johnson; and Mr. Bronson is of the opinion that Johnson was interested in the larger Christian issues of the play and therefore Irene cannot get full sympathy because she failed to take the right course; from this we proceed to a brief exposition of Johnson's attitude to Christianity, and then to Aspasia who has all the virtues, beauty, love, religious and intellectual fervour. This is well argued and convincing: if Elizabeth Porter found Johnson 'the most sensible man' she ever saw, we can find pleasure in Johnson's tribute to her as the

Propitious guide of my bewilder'd soul,  
Calm of my cares and guardian of my virtues.

The second essay, 'Boswell's Boswell', is a most attractive piece of compilation and comment. *The Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle* (which are not yet available to general readers, as they were published in a private edition between 1928-1934; a new edition, however, is now being prepared) have been used very skilfully indeed to portray the man Boswell. The subject is fascinating, and we are shown, mostly from the private papers, occasionally from essays and works, the observer Boswell and the hero Boswell, and how, because of the detachment between the two, the observer could record the hero in the most unheroic positions, varying too from heights of elation to depths of depression.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the Poets* (Ed. G. B. Hill), vol. iii, p. 52.

Boswell's life was lived for his journal; he was fearful to overcrowd each day's canvas, yet anxious not to miss the stimulus of some colourful experience or experiment. This explanation of Mr. Bronson's avoids the picture of Boswell which Harold Nicholson gives us<sup>2</sup>:

I am not myself moved by the spectacle of a grown man lying on his back like a puppy, paws in air, trusting to the humble exposure of his most tender parts to 'disarm' castigation.

but instead stresses the contradictory elements in his subject's personality which made him a unique human being suited to his task and his ambition. Perhaps in modern times the schizophrenic technique might have been applied to him and the record of this delightfully inconsistent creature's alternations would never have been kept in the small hours with such minute and scrupulous care.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Bronson is at his best when he handles human beings; he does not indulge in the jargon of the psychologist, but he contrives to select the vital passages from the autobiographical record left by Boswell and to comment upon them in illuminating fashion. In particular, his treatment of the effect of Lord Auchinleck upon his less stable son must be singled out. Again, there is a skilful use of writings which Mr. Bronson judges to be autobiographical, especially passages from *The Hypochondriac* where Boswell deals with the relationship of fathers and sons. These three essays are to be welcomed as being at once scholarly and stimulating; the zest with which they are written matches the intense emotional activity they reveal in Johnson.

Groningen.

A. NORMAN JEFFARES.

*The Centennial Edition of the Works of Sidney Lanier.*  
General Editor CHARLES R. ANDERSON. Ten volumes. Baltimore:  
The Johns Hopkins Press. 1945.

Ten volumes of Sidney Lanier's prose and poetry is indeed a monument of piety and patriotism, and when it is carried out with the painstaking thoroughness that characterizes these volumes it is doubly so. The American South has always shown a remarkable devotion to its important figures, the military and political as well as the intellectual ones, and Lanier with his slightly doubtful achievement and his precarious position on the slope of greatness has long been an object of particular concern on the part of critics, editors and biographers, a kind of delicate child demanding more than ordinary consideration and solicitude. His greater rival is Poe, the influence of whose genius pervades consciously or unconsciously almost all the younger man's work. Indeed, they had some important traits in common,

<sup>2</sup> Harold Nicholson, *The Development of English Biography*, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Professor F. A. Pottle's essay on 'The Power of Memory in Boswell and Scott', *Essays on the Eighteenth Century presented to David Nichol Smith*, pp. 168-189.

above all an interest in the technical aspects of the poet's craft and in the musical quality of poetic composition. But Poe was not, like Lanier, a trained musician and hence not tempted to conceive of the one art in terms of the other. He kept the two strictly apart and thereby succeeded in making his verse the most musical the language possesses, while Lanier's endeavours bore fruit in the secondary form of a treatise on verse that commanded some interest for a generation or two, but by now has been pretty generally forgotten. Lanier is slipping into the category of promising failures among poets, a man whose high aspiration and winning personality appeal to our sympathy and cause us to view his work with an indulgence it would otherwise not evoke. Poe's personal reputation was for generations a drag on his artistic fame and even now, when a far deeper and more sympathetic understanding of his life has spread among educated readers, he stands or falls as an artist alone. Lanier, on the other hand, is the consumptive who fought a heroic battle against insuperable odds and left behind a number of poems which, though admittedly not of the first rank, might, however, have been better if the odds had not been too much for the poet. And it is in this spirit of sympathy and with a wish to give the other important Southern writer the best possible chance that this edition of his works has been compiled.

It is the first collection of all of Lanier's writings — his musical compositions have been reserved for later treatment — and it is, in a broad sense of the word, complete. But not literally so; for the juvenilia, i.e. a number of reductions of Froissart, Malory, Lady Guest's *Mabinogion*, etc. made for boys have been omitted; and the MS material that has accumulated at the Johns Hopkins University is so vast that considerably more than 1000 pages of it have to be left unprinted, while countless small articles of little value published by Lanier at various times were likewise not included in this edition. So pruning, in this case, was one of the major tasks of the editors and we can only be grateful to them for adhering to it strictly, since much of what is now published has little value in itself and can stand only as a contribution to our knowledge of Lanier. On the other hand, the wealth of MSS has made a fulness of editorial details in the reproduction of Lanier's major works possible that is rare even in a modern writer, and any future study of Lanier, the development of his ideas and the growth of his art, will find ample material to work upon here.

Of the almost 1700 letters extant more than two thirds have been published — most of them for the first time — in the last four volumes of this edition. The earliest is dated a few days before Lanier's fifteenth birthday in 1857 and already shows the easy fluency that was later to develop into a charming personal style with, however, occasionally a tendency to become rather wordy. While Professor Anderson's introduction supplies the biographical backgrounds, Lanier's letters are supplemented by a large number from various friends and members of his family to complete the chronological continuity. The result is a practically uninterrupted diary of the poet's doings, feeling and thinking through almost all

the years of his maturity. By way of contrast the travel-book on Florida in volume six was written to order in 1875. But though the spontaneity of the letters is lacking it is made up for by a greater firmness of general texture and an often brilliant gift of natural description. The reprinting of Florida brings Lanier in competition with Bartram and others, and one must admit that in spots at least he is able to maintain himself abreast of his predecessors. Much the same may be said of his novel *Tiger Lilies* in volume five. Garland Greever's full and valuable introduction deals with the book in a very fair and dispassionate spirit; but many pages of vivid description and poetic sensibility raise it decidedly above the average novel of its day — it appeared in 1867, long before Howells and Henry James! — and these passages can still be read with pleasure. Lanier's great sin was diffuseness, as is shown in some of the pieces of Southern prose in the same volume — one third of the essay on Hamilton Hayne is swallowed up in a comparison between Chaucer and Morris! — and that practically wrecked the book on *The English Novel and the other Literary Essays* in volume four edited by Clarence Gohdes and Kemp Malone. The lectures of which the book consists were popular and written at a time when physical debility made a concentration of forces extremely difficult; but these circumstances only enhanced a weakness that is characteristic of all of Lanier's work. It becomes conspicuous in the two series of lectures on Shakespeare and his Predecessors, edited by Kemp Malone in volume three. These lectures represent Lanier's bid for academic recognition and in the introduction Professor Malone makes a brave attempt to retrieve an acceptable plan from the rambling discursiveness of the poet's MS. But the result is hardly satisfactory and the fact remains that Lanier did not possess the mental discipline needed for a large undertaking, either critical, historical or poetic, and his contribution consists of flashes of insight and little nuggets of truth scattered over a broad field of rather commonplace talk.

This is also true, though to a far lesser degree, of the most important of his prose writings, the *Science of English Verse* edited by Paull F. Baum in volume two of this edition. Here, in his favourite field of observation and speculation, Lanier showed more discipline than anywhere else, and the result is, on the whole, more satisfactory than anywhere else. To be sure he could not, as Professor Baum shows, resist the temptation to falsify his premise for the sake of the conclusion so dear to his heart, namely the parallelism of poetry and music, claiming for speech the firm rhythms on which music is based. But his fundamental attitude taken in the age of the rhythmical experiments of Poe on the one hand and Browning on the other, shows an interesting affinity to that of Hopkins, his contemporary, and has, on the whole, not passed without a positive reflection upon modern investigators like Andreas Heusler. What effect it had on his own music is still a matter of conjecture, while his poetry, now in a virtually complete collection edited by Charles R. Anderson in the first volume, gives a rather dubious reply to the question. For the music of his poems, potent and winning as it frequently is, too obviously and too often is that of other

men and not his own. Professor Anderson's admirable introduction gives among many other things a summary of the various poets who influenced his work, from Poe via the Romantics and the Germans to the Brownings and Tennyson, with occasional flashes from Whitman, and even his best poems like the famous Marshes of Glynn scintillate with the light his 19th century contemporaries threw upon his mind.

In this he was of his time, a poet primarily of the library, issuing from it chiefly to seek himself in the mirror of nature; not, however, without a growing interest in science and the social problems of the day and timidly reaching out to bring reflections of this new world into the orbit of his art. From this point of view modern research and criticism may some day find in Lanier a frustrated pioneer, and to this end the most important aid will be the magnificently edited Centennial Edition of his works.

Basel, Switzerland.

H. LÜDEKE.

## Current Literature

### ii. Criticism and Biography.

In the previous survey, dealing with fiction, poetry and drama, it was stated that the year 1946 had produced little that was outstanding in the sphere of original creative literature; when we turn to the fields of criticism and biography, however, there is a better record to show, for a number of books, essays and articles have appeared which constitute important and solid contributions to literary history and scholarship. Foremost amongst the works of a more general character should be mentioned Professor H. V. Routh's *English Literature and Ideas in the Twentieth Century* (Methuen, 11/6), a treatise which is both stimulating and provocative. It is now nine years since the author wrote his most penetrating study *Towards the Twentieth Century*, and the present volume is, presumably, intended as a sequel to it. It falls far short of its predecessor, however; but one must not be too severe on the author for this, for it is always easier to assess, classify and interpret a past age, on which one can look back in retrospect, than to judge of one's own generation. The aim in the present work is to deal with tendencies and ideas rather than with individual writers, and to relate the poetry, prose and drama of the period to the scientific, political and religious thought on the one hand, and to social and philanthropic movements on the other. Nevertheless the author claims to have "included and discussed every name which serves the spirit of twentieth century literature", a claim which, incidentally, even when allowance has been made for differences of opinion as to what names are relevant and what are not, is only partially true. Broadly speaking, his thesis is that at about the

beginning of the present century English literature, through force of circumstances, broke with its past traditions, and has yet found no new ones to put in their place. The nineteenth century was a bourgeois period with bourgeois standards and a corresponding bourgeois literature; the twentieth century is proletarian in outlook but has not yet succeeded in evolving a proletarian culture or literature, though the intellectual and cultural chaos of the past fifty years may well be the prelude to one, and ultimately to a new renaissance in which the arts and the modern world, with its outlook and standards so different from those of the Victorian age, will at last become integrated. It would be easy to find shortcomings in Professor Routh's work: he is much given to generalisation and the sweeping statement; he is inclined to be dogmatic and at times intolerant; his prejudices are only too obvious, and occasionally his predilection for the concise, smart, almost epigrammatic statement leads him to do less than justice to some of the writers whom he discusses. Yet we should not allow these objections to weigh unduly with us. The author has attempted a task calling for no small degree of skill and judgment, and on the whole he has discharged it well. The book is methodically arranged and shows evidence of very wide reading, while the style is vivid and forceful.

For the background of English literature between the two World Wars, Douglas Goldring's *The Nineteen Twenties* (Nicholson & Watson, 12/6) should be read. In some two hundred and sixty pages it gives a comprehensive picture of the political, social and economic conditions out of which the literature of that period grew, though some allowance must be made for its political colouring and bias, for Mr. Goldring is one of those people who were brought up in the tradition of "the old school tie" and have since veered steadily to the Left. Like most converts, he is inclined to be particularly virulent against the set to which he previously belonged and perhaps to lay too great a share of the blame for the evil in the world upon its shoulders. But nevertheless he is an interesting and stimulating writer; and it is only fair to add that he is as outspoken in his criticism of "the Conservatives of Transport House" as of "the Conservatives of the Carlton Club", while he sees as great danger in Trade Union tyranny as in the tyranny of the bankers. He can visualise his period as a whole and never loses sight of the wood by allowing his attention to become concentrated on the trees. Nor does he write merely as an observer or an "outsider": he was intimately concerned in the world which he depicts, for he came into personal contact with such outstanding political personalities as Ramsay Macdonald (of whom he has little good to say), E. D. Morel and George Lansbury, both of whom he is inclined to worship on the side of idolatry, while, himself a writer of no small merit, he knew intimately A. E. Housman, D. H. Lawrence and many of the Paris coterie of the twenties. Some of the most interesting chapters are those on Art and Letters in the Twenties, A Visit to A. E. Housman, The Poetry Bookshop, and his wanderings among the literary expatriates who frequented the European capitals. He has attempted a synthetic picture of a distinctive and individualist age in

English life and letters — some might be inclined to call it an age of decadence — and to a remarkable degree he has succeeded in making the picture real and convincing. Perhaps it should also be added that, despite the title, the book is not confined strictly to the nineteen-twenties, and that there is a postscript dealing with the recent war and aftermath, and with their possible repercussions in the world of letters.

Another book which covers roughly the same period, though from a different angle, is Conrad G. Weber's *Studies in the English Outlook Between the World Wars* (Bern, A. Francke, Swiss F. 8), though as it was reviewed at some length in an earlier number of this journal no more need be said about it now save to recall that it is an attempt to survey the chief schools of philosophic, religious, scientific and literary writing which flourished in England between 1918 and 1939, and to deduce from them something of the intellectual and spiritual outlook of the age. As an appendix to this, since the subjects of the two are not altogether unrelated, should be read a pamphlet by Charles Morgan entitled *The Artist and the Community* (Glasgow, Jackson & Son, 2/6), which contends that the function of the artist is to thaw the frozen imagination of mankind which, left to itself, leads to totalitarianism and a renunciation of freedom. But he can only do this if he is himself free from all *-isms* and *-doxies*. This is a point of view at variance with a number of pronouncements of recent years, but it is one which many will endorse, and coming as it does from so fastidious and graceful an artist as Mr. Morgan it merits more than a passing consideration.

Some years ago Van Wyck Brooks commenced a history of American literature with his work *The Flowering of New England*, followed later by *New England, Indian Summer*; now he has written a further volume in *The World of Washington Irving* (Dent, 15/—). To call it the third volume of the series would be misleading, for actually in point of time it precedes both the others, the three together covering a period of rather less than a hundred and fifty years. It is not an easy work for an English reader to assess, for if we except some half-dozen figures the rest are little more than names to anyone who is not an American or has not made a special study of American literature. It is important to realise that the book is not primarily one about Washington Irving but about the world of which he was the centre and the most important figure, and, if a mere outsider may say so, it certainly seems to give a colourful and convincing synthetic picture of the political, religious, social and literary background of the age, though whether that picture is well-balanced only a student well versed in the history and institutions of the country could say. One does feel, however, that the writer sometimes allows his enthusiasm to run away with him; that his style is vivid even to the point of flamboyancy, and that too many of his geese are swans. Indeed, his book is less a piece of literary history or criticism than a comprehensive picture of an age and its writings, and though one may find fault with the details the total effect is impressive.

Under the title *The Living Novel* (Chatto & Windus, 8/6) V. S. Pritchett has written a series of discerning though brief studies of outstanding novels from the early eighteenth century to the present day, all of which are well worth reading, for if the treatment is popular rather than scholarly, in the more restricted sense of the term, what he has to say is based upon a wide as well as a profound knowledge of literature, and frequently by a stray remark or a happy turn of expression he starts a train of thought that the reader may find himself following out and developing. Thus his writing is suggestive rather than dogmatic. The essays, thirty-two in number, originally appeared in the *New Statesman*, and amongst the writers dealt with are Fielding, Richardson, Smollett, Thomas Day, Scott, Disraeli, Dickens, George Eliot, Samuel Butler, Sir Edmund Gosse, H. G. Wells, Arnold Bennett, D. H. Lawrence, Joseph Conrad, and even Thomas Hood and Walt Whitman, who, although they were not novelists, find a place because of what Mr. Pritchett styles their "novels in verse". Not all of Mr. Pritchett's novelists are English, however, nor is there any essential connexion between them save that each one, in his own way, is a master of his craft whose works will probably live because they have something vital to say and enshrine something of the spirit and outlook of their age; hence the title of the book.

To turn to a rather different subject, the Professor of Philosophy in the University of California, Dr. S. C. Pepper, has set forth his views on critics and criticism in *The Basis of Criticism in the Arts* (Harvard University Press and O.U.P., 14/—), in which he attempts to formulate a philosophy of criticism for literature, painting and music and to put it to the test by applying it to a few examples of each of these three types of art. Based upon a series of lectures delivered at Harvard in the summer of 1944, the book examines in turn what Dr. Pepper styles the Mechanistic, Contextual, Organistic and Formistic approaches to criticism, discusses the merits and shortcomings of each, and finally seeks to blend and combine them. The author has done his work very thoroughly, one might almost say too thoroughly, for his book is difficult to read and digest, while at the end one is left with the feeling that much has been talked around and about the subject but that the solid, concrete and tangible facts that have emerged are altogether disproportionate to the fuss that has been made about them. Few people would disagree with Dr. Pepper's assertion (on p. 15) that good criticism can only be based on a sound philosophy, but many might wonder how far he has succeeded in providing that philosophy, while some might even feel that most of what he says has been said before and said more simply. However, a work such as this requires repeated reading and laborious, detailed study, and it may be that subsequent attempts to master it might reveal a great deal more than a first or even a second reading does.

During the past seventy or eighty years a considerable volume of children's literature has grown up, a great deal of it merely ephemeral but some of more permanent value. Roger Lancelyn Green treats of the latter category in a book entitled *Tellers of Tales* (Leicester, Edmund Ward, 8/6).

Thackeray, Ruskin, Edward Lear, Lewis Carrol, Mrs. Ewing, Mrs. Molesworth, Charlotte Yonge, Robert Louis Stevenson, E. Nesbit, Sir James Barrie, Rudyard Kipling, Kenneth Grahame, A. A. Milne and Beatrix Potter are amongst the writers discussed. It does not claim to be a work of scholarship, nor is the critical element in it very profound, but it is pleasantly written and gives a competent survey of the field. The same remarks might also apply to Phyllis Bentley's *Some Observations on the Art of Narrative* (Home & Van Thal, 5/—), a small booklet in which a well known novelist analyses the essentials of her art. Broadly speaking, Miss Bentley distinguishes three main elements in the novel, viz. scene (the "events" of the story), description (including character-portrayal) and summary. Her remarks upon each are interesting and enlightening, and, coming as they do from one who has given evidence of her mastery of the novel as a form of literary expression, merit more than a casual consideration. But one wonders whether she is not inclined to over-simplify and to suggest that novel-writing can be reduced to a methodical scheme.

When he died in 1863 Thackeray left an express instruction that no biography of him was to be published, and because of that, although much has been written in criticism and appreciation of his novels, there is still no authoritative and detailed Life such as one might expect of a person of his eminence. Respecting the letter of his wish if not the spirit, Gordon N. Ray has made available a considerable amount of biographical material in the first two volumes of his projected four-volume work *The Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray* (Harvard University Press and O.U.P., 6 guineas the set of four vols.), but has refrained from the temptation to employ them as the basis of a biographical study. These two large volumes contain 814 letters, covering Thackeray's schooldays at Charterhouse, his period at Cambridge, his courtship and marriage, and finally his sojourn in Paris up to 1851; the complete work, so it appears from the list of contents, will contain 1,712. They are carefully edited, with an abundance of notes and appendices as well as illustrations. For the student of Thackeray's novels they throw new light upon their origin and development as well as on his method of writing and on his conception of some of the characters; the student of nineteenth-century social life will also find in them much of interest; but their chief value is, of course, for the revelation that they give of Thackeray himself and some of the less known phases of his life. It is a pity that the price is so high as to preclude any but the larger libraries from acquiring them.

With the recent revival of interest in the novels of Anthony Trollope it is very fitting that there should appear a new edition of this author's *Autobiography* introduced by Charles Morgan (Williams & Norgate, 8/6). The work was originally published in 1883, a few months after Trollope's death, and though there have been several reprints of it since, it has never been so well known as it deserved to be. In one sense it is more than an autobiography, for it contains the author's views upon the art of novel-writing, his recipe for success and his opinion of and judgements upon

some of the eminent novelists of his day, notably Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot and Charlotte Brontë. If these pronouncements are not to be taken too seriously (and Trollope is not the soundest of literary critics), they at least constitute an indication of their author's attitude to his profession. As in his novels, so in his autobiography, Trollope is perfectly frank and quite worldly without being ashamed of it. He makes no pretence to genius or inspiration; on the contrary he leaves his reader in no doubt that he regarded fiction as a craft to be pursued for monetary gain. He desired fame, he desired wealth and he desired success, and he saw that the only way to achieve them in authorship was by the same means as that by which they were to be had in any other walk of life — by perseverance and hard, methodical work. And so he set himself to write on an average 10,000 words per week, in the time when he was not performing his duties as a Civil Servant. Say what we will in condemnation of this method of literary composition, it produced some of the outstanding novels of the later nineteenth century as well as this most attractive autobiography, to which Mr. Morgan's introduction gives a concise and discriminating assessment.

Elizabeth Bowen's pamphlet *Anthony Trollope, A New Judgment* (O.U.P., 2/6) is the printed version of a broadcast talk. Within its brief compass it gives a good analysis of Trollope's novels, with some very apt comments upon Trollope the man. On the whole it shows a sane, fair and balanced judgment. Far otherwise is it with *The Trollopes. The Chronicle of a Writing Family*, by Lucy Poate Stebbins and Richard Poate Stebbins (Secker & Warburg, 18/—), the subjects of which are Anthony Trollope, his mother (Frances Trollope) and his brother Thomas, and in which a well-meant attempt to do justice to Frances and Thomas resolves itself into a debunking of Anthony, who is presented as the victim of an inferiority complex engendered by repression in his childhood and youth. He was, the authors of this work would have us believe, a person of but mediocre talent who was content to sacrifice quality to quantity in his writing. He was, too, petty, spiteful, inclined to be aggressive, vain and pompous, with a rather low opinion of human nature and lacking in so many of those social graces which his brother possessed in abundance. It seems also to have been one of his sins that he was limited by the age in which he lived and was for the main part content to accept its ideals and its standards, that he was not an idealist and was afire with no philanthropic or reforming fervour. There is no doubt a grain of truth in all these charges, but it is difficult to believe that they are not exaggerated in order to establish a case; the authors' arguments would have carried much more conviction if they had been stated with less vehemence and prejudice. But let it not be supposed that the book has nothing to recommend it. Trollope's skill in the presentation of his characters is admitted, and there are very vivid pictures of his parents, particularly his mother, who to most readers of English literature is probably little more than a name. It can be fairly claimed that Mr. and Mrs. Stebbins have rehabilitated her and

shown her to be a more important figure than has usually been supposed; but despite this Anthony will still remain, for most of us, by far the greatest of the trio with whom the book deals.

October 3rd., 1946, marked the fiftieth anniversary of the death of William Morris. Particularly timely, therefore, is Margaret R. Grennan's *William Morris, Mediaevalist and Revolutionary* (New York, King's Crown Press; London, O.U.P., 16/6). Mrs. Grennan traces out the development of Morris' thought and teaching with particular reference to his socialism, and seeks to show how his mediaevalism was at once a logical development from the nineteenth-century tradition established by Scott and passed on by Carlyle, and a revolt from it; for while Scott and Carlyle were both backward-looking, with tastes and interests that were antiquarian rather than revolutionary, Morris was forward-looking; while the former were escapists, Morris, for all his dreams and visions, was a realist who looked to the Middle Ages for illumination on the problems that confronted his own day. "The story of his enthusiasm for the period," writes Mrs. Grennan, "is the story of the revival, beginning in a romantic preoccupation with the past for its own sake and ending in a pragmatic concern for the past for the sake of the present and the future." As a mediaevalist he was more accurate and better informed than either Scott or Carlyle though, Mrs. Grennan believes, attention has hitherto been so much centred upon the artistic side of his work that this fact has not been sufficiently realised or appreciated. Mrs. Grennan's book is thorough, comprehensive and well documented; unfortunately it is also rather diffuse and the style seems often laboured, so that it does not make easy reading.

As was to be expected, several commemorative articles on Morris have appeared since this book was published. The most notable is "The Utopia of William Morris", in the *Times Literary Supplement* for October 5th., 1946.

W. H. Hudson is remembered by the average reader of English literature chiefly for *A Shepherd's Life* and his autobiographical work *Far Away and Long Ago*; but he wrote much else besides. In *W. H. Hudson, Vision of Earth* (Dent, 10/6) Robert Hamilton gives us a study of this remarkable writer on nature and natural history who was second only to Richard Jefferies in this particular sphere. Mr. Hamilton writes with enthusiasm and confidence — at times perhaps with a little too much confidence — but unfortunately he fails fully to appreciate the real spirit and charm of Hudson's works and is not always quite fair or just to Hudson the man. Indeed, he seems less interested in the peculiar literary qualities of his works than in the views upon a diversity of subjects such as life, religion, nature, biology etc. which he can extract from them, classify and criticise. Occasionally, too, he oversteps the mark in airing his own views on these topics, some of which are relevant though some are not. His contention that Hudson looked at nature from an aesthetic and not from a scientific point of view is true enough; but it can scarcely be urged as a criticism

of his work, and one feels that the author does put it forward in something of the spirit of criticism.

Mr. Hamilton has clearly read all of Hudson's writings with diligence, and so far as his "beliefs" or "teaching" are concerned can be regarded as a reliable guide; but with such a writer beliefs and teaching are of only secondary importance. The real secret of Hudson lies elsewhere.

(To be concluded.)

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

### Brief Mention

*Contributions to Middle English Lexicography and Etymology.*  
By M. T. LÖFVENBERG. (Lunds Universitets Arsskrift N.F.Avd. 1.  
Bd. 41. Nr. 8.) 110 pp. Lund: Gleerup. 1946.

As the title indicates this work is a contribution to Middle English lexicography. The author discusses part of the material from the Calendar of the Close Rolls, mainly for the years 1272-1435. The Close Rolls containing copies of Royal Letters Close, deeds, agreements, etc., were written in Mediaeval Latin but embody a great many English words. The Calendar is a modern abstract of the original Rolls, in English, the ME words being generally quoted in their original forms.

The number of words discussed is 450. About one third of these are either not found at all in NED or in a different sense, the others often provide an earlier first-mention than the one in NED. This fact makes the publication important, for it forms one of the numerous sources for the inevitable correction of this great work.

The words are ranged under various headings, such as persons, animals, plants, furs, etc., and provided with very ample etymologies. There is, moreover, an alphabetical index.

This is a very useful publication, enlarging our knowledge of ME *realia* and of English lexicography in general.

Leiden.

A. A. PRINS.

*Von Theaterkrisen und ihrer Überwindung.* Der Beitrag eines Anglisten zur deutschschweizerischen Berufsbühnenfrage. Von RUDOLF STAMM. (XVI. Jahrbuch 1946 der Gesellschaft für schweizerische Theaterkultur, herausgegeben von Oskar Eberle. Volksverlag Elgg, Zürich, 1947. 159 pp.) Pp. 7—102.

An inquiry into the condition of the Swiss professional stage and the methods for its improvement is preceded by a survey of the various periods of prosperity and decline of European drama from the Middle Ages to the present day and of the forces at work in them. Especially full and interesting is the account of the Irish movement which led to the foundation of the Abbey Theatre at Dublin, a drawing of which adorns the cover of this volume. Dr. Stamm's essay is to be recommended to all those interested in the history and the problems of dramatic art. — Z.

*An Introduction to the Study of English Sounds.* By E. KRUISINGA. 9th edition revised by C. HEDEMAN and J. J. WESTERBEEK. ix + 206 pp. Groningen: P. Noordhoff, N.V. 1947. Price f 4.50, cloth f 5.25.

The eighth edition was discussed in some detail in *E. S.*, Dec. 1945. The reviewer of the ninth may content himself with referring to his former report: apart from a number of textual alterations introduced by the revisers of their own accord, and an incomplete list of misprints, the new edition faithfully reproduces all the errors and inconsistencies of its predecessor. Fortunately, it also reproduces its virtues, so that Kruisinga's little manual remains the best introduction to the subject for Dutch students. — Z.

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## Thoor, Ballylee

What do you think of our new address —  
Thoor Ballylee? Thoor is the Irish for a  
tower and it will keep people from suspecting  
us of modern Gothic and a deerpark.

W. B. Yeats.

William Butler Yeats bought a Norman Castle at Ballylee, County Galway, in 1917, and subsequently used the Castle as a summer residence until 1929. The purchase of the Castle, its renovation and its symbolic value in the later poems of its owner are the fitting outcome of his early interest in towers as poetical symbols and his long-felt delight in this particular old tower and its legendary neighbourhood.

As a youth Yeats was greatly influenced by the poetry of Shelley: he "had begun to write poetry in imitation of Shelley and Edmund Spenser, play after play." The effect of these poets upon his early style is marked; he described *The Wanderings of Oisín* in retrospect as full of the Italian colour of Shelley. More than mere style was influenced, however, for he began to imagine himself as a Shelleyan character. A passage in *Autobiographies* records this phase:

I had many idols and as I climbed along the narrow ledge I was now Manfred on his glacier, and now Prince Athanasius with his solitary lamp, but I soon chose Alastor for my chief of men, and longed to share his melancholy, and may be at last to disappear from everybody's sight as he disappeared drifting in a boat along some slow moving river between great trees.

The solitary nature of these characters first excited Yeats's imagination. After his adolescent preoccupation with loneliness had waned he found that Shelley's characters united with their lonely lives a love of intellectual beauty; he was also to find that a similar search for wisdom underlay and inspired his own work. Two of Shelley's symbolic characters especially appealed to him. He wrote that in later years his mind

gave itself to gregarious Shelley's dream of a young man, his hair blanched with sorrow, studying philosophy in some lonely tower, or his old man, master of all human knowledge, hidden from sight in some shell strewn cavern on the Mediterranean shore.

These dwellers in tower and cavern are both solitary; the first is a seeker after wisdom's power, the second has attained it. We can disregard the cavern dweller, for he does not appear in Yeats's poetry until *The Gyres*, a late poem which probably reflects a mood when Yeats thought he had, like Shelley's old man, become preternaturally wise. The significance of the tower is indicated by Yeats in an essay on Shelley's poetry:

As Shelley sailed along those great rivers and saw or imagined the cave that associated itself with rivers in his mind, he saw half-ruined towers upon the hilltops, and once at any rate a tower is used to symbolise a meaning that is the contrary to the meaning symbolised by caves. Cythna's lover is brought through the cave where there is a polluted fountain, to a high tower, for being man's far-seeing mind when the world has cast him out he must to 'the towers of thought's crowned powers'; nor is it possible for Shelley to have forgotten this first imprisonment when he made men imprison Lionel in a tower for a like offence; and because I know how hard it is to forget a symbolical meaning, once one has found it, I believe Shelley had more than a romantic scene in his mind when he made Prince Athanase follow his mysterious studies in a lighted tower above the sea, and when he made the old hermit watch over Laon in his sickness in a half-ruined tower, wherein the sea, here doubtless as to Cythna 'the one mind' threw 'spangled sands' and 'rarest seashells'. The tower, important in Maeterlinck, as in Shelley, is, like the sea, and rivers, and caves with fountains, a very ancient symbol, and could perhaps, as years went by, have grown more important in his poetry. The contrast between it and the cave in *Laon and Cythna* suggests a contrast between the mind looking outward on men and things and the mind looking inward on itself, which may or may not have been in Shelley's mind, but certainly helps, with one knows not how many dim meanings, to give the poem mystery and shadow. It is only by ancient symbols, by symbols that have numberless meanings beside the one or two the writer lays an emphasis upon, or the half score he knows of, that any subjective art can escape from the barrenness and shallowness of a too conscious arrangement, into the abundance and depth of nature. The poet of essence and pure ideas must seek in the half-lights that glimmer from symbol to symbol as if to the ends of the earth, all that the epic and dramatic poet finds of mystery and shadow in the accidental circumstances of life.

When Yeats wrote of Prince Athanase studying philosophy in his tower :

.. a youth who, as with toil and travel,  
Had grown quite grey before his time,  
Nor what religion fables of the grave  
Feared he, Philosophy's accepted guest.

he did not mention a passage in *Il Penseroso* to which he later drew attention :

Or let my Lamp at midnight hour  
Be seen in some high lonely Tower,  
When I may oft outwatch the Bear,  
With thrice great Hermes, or unspear  
The spirit of Plato to unfold  
What worlds, or what vast regions hold  
The immortal mind that hath forsook  
Her mansion in this fleshy nook.

These lines may well have been a source for Shelley's imagery in *Prince Athanase*. In the copy of Shelley's works presented to Yeats by Katherine Tynan in 1888, page 510 was turned down opposite this passage of *Prince Athanase* :

His soul had wedded wisdom, and her dower  
Is love and justice; clothed in which she sate  
Apart from men, as in a lonely tower,  
Pitying the tumult of their dark estate.

Apart from the fact that Milton and Shelley each end a line with the words 'lonely tower' there are other similarities in their poems. Milton's 'lamp at midnight hour' which is 'seen in some high lonely tower' is echoed by Shelley's:

The Balearic fisher, driven from shore,  
Hanging upon the peaked wave afar,  
Then saw their lamp from Laian's turret gleam,  
Piercing the stormy darkness, like a star...

A reference to the Bear in *Il Penseroso* is matched by Shelley's line

Bright Arcturus through yon pines is glowing

and Milton's praise of 'the spirit of Plato' is reflected by the old man who comforts Athanase:

Then Plato's words of light in thee and me  
Lingered like moonlight in the moonless east  
For we had just then read — thy memory  
Is faithful now — the story of the feast;  
And Agathon and Diotima seemed  
From death and dark forgetfulness released.

Yeats was probably hinting at this similarity when he described himself as having:

Chosen after the manner of his kind  
Mere images; chosen this place to live in  
Because it may be, of the candle light  
From the far tower where Milton's Platonist  
Sat late, or Shelley's visionary prince:  
The lonely light that Samuel Palmer engraved  
An image of mysterious wisdom won by toil.

The last two lines of this passage refer to an illustration by Palmer in *The Shorter Poems of John Milton* (Seeley and Company London 1889); this is called 'The Lonely Tower' and the following description accompanies the quotation of four lines from *Il Penseroso*:

Here poetic loneliness has been attempted; not the loneliness of a desert, but a secluded spot in a genial pastoral country, enriched also by antique relics such as the so-called druidic stones upon the distant hill. The constellation of the 'Bear' may help to explain that the building is the tower of *Il Penseroso*. Two shepherds watching their flocks speak together of the mysterious light above them.

Another source for towers as symbols of a search for wisdom is Comte Villiers de l'Isle Adam's *Axel*, of which Yeats wrote in his introduction to the Jarrold edition of 1925:

Now that I have read it again in Mr Finberg's translation and recalled that first impression (he had read *Axel* in French before he went to Paris in 1894) I can see how those symbols dominated my thought. . . Is it only because I opened the book for the first time when I had vivid senses of youth that I must see that tower room always and hear always that thunder?

It is obvious that this tower in *Axel* is akin to Shelley's symbol in *Prince Athanase*, for *Axel*, Count of Auersperg

deprives himself of all the joys of his age! And spends the best years of his life sitting up there in the tower, night and night, studying by lamplight, poring over ancient manuscripts with the doctor.

To sum up the effect of these literary sources upon Yeats would be an easy matter if we were dealing with their effect upon his adolescence alone; but the problem is to allot them their due importance in the tower poetry, almost all of which he wrote after his acquisition of the tower at Ballylee in 1917. We could realise clearly what the possession of a tower would have meant to the young Yeats who associated towers with those Shelleyan characters who were such a formative influence upon his early development: towers were almost essential for Shelley's romantic atmosphere, and the possession of one would have meant the realisation of many youthful dreams of being a solitary hero. The secondary meaning of Shelley's tower symbolism, however, must have grown in importance for Yeats as his years of study accumulated. What he called 'making his soul'<sup>1</sup> would, of course, have included and laid stress on the importance of intellect which Shelley associated with the inhabitants of his towers. As both these symbolic meanings of romantic loneliness and the search for wisdom appear in the tower poetry of Yeats we can see that elements, at least, of early memories and desires underlay his purchase of a tower in later life.

There were other reasons which led Yeats to his acquisition of a tower, and these also colour the tower poetry. In an essay written in 1902 he described the neighbourhood of the tower, his early visits there in search of folklore, and the semi-literary associations which endeared the place to him:

I have lately been to a little group of houses, not many enough to be called a village, in the barony of Kiltartan in County Galway, whose name, Ballylee, is known throughout all the west of Ireland. There is the old square castle, Ballylee, inhabited by a farmer and his wife, and a cottage where their daughter and their son-in-law live, and a little mill with an old miller, and old ash-trees throwing green shadows upon a little river and great stepping stones.

Later in the essay he writes that he will

be back there again before it is autumn, because Mary Hynes, a beautiful woman whose name is still a wonder by turf fires, died there sixty years ago; for our feet would linger where beauty has lived its life of sorrow to make us understand that it is not of the world.

Raftery, the famous Irish poet, made a song in Irish about Mary Hynes which Yeats quoted in a version translated by a friend (presumably Lady Gregory) from the singing of an old woman who lived in Ballylee and

<sup>1</sup> In an essay on William Blake, written in 1897, he stated that: "In our time we are agreed that we, 'make our souls' out of some one of the great poets of ancient times, or out of Shelley....."

remembered Raftery and Mary Hynes. In 1926 Yeats returned to the theme of Mary Hynes in *The Tower*, describing the images and memories which surrounded his dwelling:

Some few remembered still when I was young  
A peasant girl commended by a song,  
Who'd lived somewhere upon that rocky place,  
And praised the colour of her face,  
And had the greater joy in praising her,  
Remembering that, if walked she there,  
Farmers jostled at the fair  
So great a glory did the song confer.

Another reason underlying Yeats's purchase of Ballylee was its proximity to Coole, Lady Gregory's residence. He mentioned this in a poem *Coole and Ballylee, 1931*:

Under my window-ledge the waters race,  
Otters below and moor-hens on the top,  
Run for a mile undimmed in Heaven's face  
Then darkening through 'dark Raftery's cellar' drop,  
Run underground, rise in a rocky place  
In Coole demesne, and there to finish up  
Spread to a lake and drop into a hole.  
What's water but the generated soul?

Some years before Yeats's marriage Robert Gregory, Lady Gregory's son, had urged him to buy the castle, and when the Congested Districts Board was splitting up some of the Gregory Estate into smaller holdings Yeats entered into negotiations for the purchase of Ballylee. In a memo dated February 19th 1917,<sup>2</sup> H. R. Vereker, the Board's Chief Land Inspector, reported to Sir Henry Doran as follows:

I was at Ballylee on the 14th instant. This is the most perfectly preserved old castle I have ever seen, not a stone in the outer walls being displaced. It stands on the edge of a river of some considerable size, and is approached by a very substantial bridge twenty feet wide. Inside the castle, the floors of the rooms are, of course, gone, and only a small proportion of the slated roof remains. Its value as a residence is sentimental and therefore problematical, as in my opinion it would take between £300 and £400 to make it habitable. The tenant of the holding on which the castle stands had his house built against one side of it, and has used the tower portion as a stable ... A bye-road, which serves two large villages approaches the river on the opposite side of the castle. When the river is low it is shallow enough to go across, and the arrangement of flags laid on dry stone piers enables foot passengers to cross.

The report went on to object to the proposed sale of the castle to Yeats, because the Board would have to build a new bridge at the site of the ford to improve the bye road, and this would cost them £510— whereas

<sup>2</sup> J. Hone, *W. B. Yeats 1865—1939*, p. 310, is wrong in placing the purchase of the tower many years before Yeats's marriage. The acquisition is recorded in a letter from Yeats to Lady Gregory, dated June 30th 1917: "...After I have paid for the £35 for Castle (which I have just done)."

they were selling the castle to Yeats for £80, and its bridge could be converted to public use quite cheaply. Sir Henry Doran concluded a letter to Bailey Bailey, dated 23rd February 1917, in these words:

If Mr Yeats agreed to have an open roadway through the castle yard from the existing bridge above referred to, the Board might agree to take less than £80.

It was probably after a little haggling that the Board eventually wrote to Yeats to say that although legal transfer could not yet be completed he could take possession of his new property in April 1917; the price he was to pay was thirty-five pounds.

For his outlay Yeats obtained

An ancient bridge, and a more ancient tower,  
A farmhouse that is sheltered by its wall,  
An acre of stony ground,  
Where the symbolic rose can break in flower,  
Old ragged elms, old thorns innumerable,  
The sound of the rain or sound  
Of every wind that blows.

After his marriage, which took place in October 1917, Yeats decided that Mrs. Yeats and he would live at Ballylee for part of each year. The cottages were repaired and had room for kitchen, bathroom, sitting-room, and bed-rooms. A poem written in 1918, *A Prayer on going into my house*, reveals the poet's delight in his new home:

God grant a blessing on this tower and cottage  
And on my heirs, if all remain unspoiled,  
No table or chair or stool not simple enough  
For shepherd lads in Galilee; and grant  
That I myself for portions of the year  
May handle nothing and set eyes on nothing  
But what the great and passionate have used  
Throughout so many varying centuries.

The tables, chairs and two large beds were made from local elm-wood by local craftsmen. This furniture still remains within the tower; it was constructed *in situ* and could not be moved down the winding stair. A letter which Yeats wrote to his father in July 1919 gives an idyllic picture of Ballylee:

Anne and George (Mrs. Yeats) were there too, George sewing, and Anne lying in her seventeenth century cradle. I am writing this in the great ground floor of the castle — the pleasantest room I have yet seen, a great wide window opening over the river and a round arched door leading to the thatched hall.

Gradually the tower was made habitable. The first floor became the poet's study and the second floor a bedroom. A design for an ornate roof of sea-green slates executed in Lutyens' office was not used as the local builders thought that the Atlantic gales might strip off the slates. A flat concrete top was built, and here Yeats could.

..pace upon the battlements and stare  
 On the foundations of a house, or where  
 Tree, like a sooty finger, starts from earth;  
 And send imagination forth  
 Under the days' declining beam, and call  
 Images and memories  
 From ruin or from ancient trees..

In 1927, perhaps remembering the story of Swift and the tree half-dead at the top, and thinking of the waste room at the top of the concrete-roofed tower where butterflies came in through the loopholes and died against the window panes, Yeats wrote:

Upon the dusty, glittering windows cling,  
 And seem to cling upon the moonlit skies,  
 Tortoiseshell butterflies, peacock butterflies,  
 A couple of night-moths are on the wing.  
 Is every modern nation like the tower,  
 Half dead at the top? No matter what I said,  
 For wisdom is the property of the dead,  
 A something incompatible with life; and power,  
 Like everything that has the stain of blood,  
 A property of the living; but no stain  
 Can come upon the visage of the moon  
 When it has looked in glory from a cloud.

While at Ballylee Yeats wrote many poems and in the repetitions of the castle and its surroundings we can surmise a deliberate aim. He had written in *The Cutting of an Agate*:

In European poetry I remember Shelley's *continually repeated* fountain and cave, his broad stream and solitary star (*italics mine*).

and it seems likely that he was seeking by this continual repetition of his own symbols to achieve the same effect as Shelley, to achieve an emotional response in his reader's recognition of the object described; such a recognition would, of course, produce a stronger emotional reaction if it took place without any too great enquiry. The climax to this poetry is the grandiloquent assertion:

I declare this tower is my symbol; I declare  
 This winding, gyring, spiring treadmill of a stair is my ancestral stair;  
 That Goldsmith and the Dean, Berkeley and Burke have travelled there.

In 1929 Yeats decided to leave the tower, as it was becoming rather difficult for him to do without some of the comforts and amenities which were not to be had at Ballylee. Not yet have

... this laborious stair and this stark tower  
 Become a roofless ruin that the owl  
 May build in the cracked masonry and cry  
 Her desolation to the sky.

but the cottages have fallen in, and Mrs. Yeats's garden has disappeared. When the buildings are approached the jackdaws, as Yeats pictured them in *The Tower*, are to be seen, still chattering and screaming around the loop holes. Their activity accentuates the lonely air of the tower, and the ruin of the cottages emphasises its gaunt strength. The blank stone still stands which was to have received this poem, written before 1921:

"To be carved on a stone at Thoor, Ballylee."

I, the poet William Yeats,  
With old mill boards and sea-green slates,  
And smithy work from the Gort forge,  
Restored this tower for my wife George;  
And may these characters remain  
When all is ruin once again.

Other things will remain: Yeats has become a legend of the country-side, and the world has been enriched by *The Tower* and *The Winding Stair*.

Groningen.

A. NORMAN JEFFARES.

## Notes and News

**'ipþlen' in Sawles Warde.** A wise editor will hesitate to accuse even a bad Middle English ms. of error. So many "errors" have been shown to be correct, by better acquaintance with the language of a particular text, on fresh lexicographical evidence.

But *ipþlen* still stands isolated in the Bodleian version of *Sawles Warde*, as recent editors have printed it, a group of letters to which no research has given any meaning.

Clearly *ipþlen* is either a corruption of some genuine word, or else the editors<sup>1</sup> have misread it. In this instance, there is no need to discuss what word *ipþlen* may conceal, for in fact that group of letters is not in the manuscript. So much is certain. Less certain is the reading of what can be seen, and the explanation of it.

Omitting for the moment the debatable word, this is the context as it stands in MS. Bodley 34:

- fol. 72r In þið beoð his hinen. in se moni mislich  
þonc to cþemen<sup>2</sup> þel þe huseþif: azein godes þil  
le. ȝ sþerieð somet readliche. þ efter hire hit schal  
fol. 72v gan. þah þe hit ne here naþt: þe mahen X ha  
re nurhð. ȝ hare untohe bere. a þet hit  
cume forð. ȝ ba þið eie. ȝ þið luue tuhte  
ham þe betere.

<sup>1</sup> So first Morris, *Old English Homilies*, E.E.T.S., 29; later Hall, *Selections from Early Middle English 1130—1250*, Oxford, 1920; and recently Wilson, *Sawles Warde*, Leeds, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> Emended by the scribe from *twemen*. But *twemen* is probably a casual error without significance; *tweamen*, which it resembles, will not fit the context [þ = w. — E.d.]

Wit is the master of the House of the Soul. His *hinen wiðuten*, "outside servants", have been named: the Five Senses. The allegory then turns to the "inside servants". Unless Wit is awake to control them, not dozing in an inner chamber or straying abroad, both sets of servants will misbehave; for Will, the housewife, is not a disciplinarian, and the inside servants are in league to please her and let her do as she likes.

Inside his servants are in<sup>3</sup> so many a different<sup>4</sup> thought to please the housewife against God's will, and quickly they swear together that things shall follow her lead. Though we do not hear this (sc. ? the actual swearing of the conspirators) we can \ their noise and their unruly clamour, until it comes out, and with fear and love teach (train) them to do better.

This is about as near as modern English can get to the sense of the text as it stands in MS B; and it is at once evident that a verb has been omitted after *mahen*.

The modern editor can now turn to the two other texts of *Sawles Warde* that have been preserved, and will find that both agree: R reads *felen* and T reads *fele*. The omission of *felen* in B is not explained by any special features of the context, but B in spite of a fair hand was an inattentive scribe, prone to omissions, and no special explanation of this case is needed. However, in this place the omission attracted the attention of some one long ago, before modern editing or making of "Middle English Readers". The passage is difficult, and some one tried to understand it and make sense of it. There is a *caret* mark (in pale ink) between *mahen* and *ha* in the top line of the page, and above appear the letters that have been read *ipplen*. They are not in the hand of the text. There are six letters: 1 is black (clear but thin); 2 and 3 are pale; 4, 5, 6 are black and clear, sprawling a little in a line bending round the top right-hand corner of the text. The letters are *r p ? l e n*. The only really dubious letter is 3. It is not another *p*; its resemblance to one is mainly due to the high stroke of the *h* in *ha* rising from below. Some letter, it would seem, has been fumbled or altered; the resulting blur may have been intended for an *e*.<sup>5</sup>

It is only possible now to guess at the reasons for this situation. The inserted letters may originally have been made in the pale ink, and then later 1, 4, 5, 6 may have been touched up. In any case, what we have is an attempted emendation of a defect by some user (or users) of the manuscript who had no access to a better copy, and was guessing from the context as he found it. *rw?len* is certainly not related to the *fele(n)* of

<sup>3</sup> The punctuation of B. associates *in* with *se moni*, and as the text stands (alike in B,R,T,) this must be accepted. The sense intended being that each of the various servants is in a mind to please the housewife. But one has a feeling that in spite of the agreement of the MSS. all is not well here. The inside servants are not (as are the outside servants) specified, as one would expect; but they are the *þonc* or *cogitationes*. One would expect: "Inside are his servants, many various thoughts, who desire to please the housewife."

<sup>4</sup> or "wandering, idle, mischievous"? On the sense of *mislich* in this language, see *An Edition of þe Liſlade ant te Passiun of Seinte Iulene*, s.v. *Misliche*.

<sup>5</sup> R. Furuskog, *A Collation of the Katherine Group* (MS Bodley 34), in *Studia Neophilologica*, Vol. XIX (1946/47), No 1—2, p. 160, reads *iwelen*, with the suggestion that "e is possibly altered from *w* or *r*".

R and T; and to read *felen* in an edition of B may be right, but to do so is merely to make a better emendation than the older reader did, by borrowing from R and T; it does not explain *rw?len*.

Now *rw?len* is more credible than *ib?len*, but it is still not a properly spelled word. Yet it is not an impossible form — in a clumsy and perhaps hasty “correction” — of “rule”, a verb that in the pure language of B would be spelled *riwlin*, in later or less pure language *riwlen* or even *riwelen*.<sup>6</sup> And “rule” will make sense — if we stick to B’s text, as this corrector was obliged to do. For he had before him a *þet hit cume forð*; and it seems that he was trying to make out some such meaning as this: “though we cannot hear it, we can control their clamour and train them to do better.” And this is grammatical at any rate; *tuhte* can well be an infinitive.

But this interpretation fails, as do the almost successful but mistaken renderings of “unseens” by ingenious candidates, because there remains a detail that cannot be twisted to fit. Had this been the meaning intended by the homilist, we should not have had a *þet* “until”, but some equivalent of “that ... not”, “lest”. (Though the reference of *hit* remains unclear, a *þet hit cume forð* must presumably be taken, and has been taken, to refer to the result of the conspiracy, the rebellion of the servants). And so this early attempt at emendation, as later editorial guesses so often do, makes necessary yet a further alteration, and by that necessity is shown to be probably on the wrong track: “rule” (if that was the intention of the letters) is, in fact, only an isolated “emendation”, not dependent on any general purpose of correction or any comparison with other copies.

For R and T have here not *hit* but *wit cume forð*, and are plainly right; to *wit* also belongs *tuhte*, present subjunctive not infinitive. It is Wit who is to come forth from his inner chamber and control the clamour, not “we”. For “we” are outside the allegory and are only asked, casually, to compare the experience of our feelings with the general allegorical picture as it proceeds. “Though we do not hear it (sc. the actual voices of the servants, which is only said allegorically), we can in our feelings and emotions experience the clamour, until Wit is aroused”.

Poor B was a blunderer, and not always very attentive to the sense, but it is possible here to feel a little sympathy with him. The author here must bear some of the blame. This is a bad beginning. Nothing could be more destructive of his allegory, or more confusing, than to introduce *we* at this point, the real persons, who are being allegorically analysed. *þah we ne here nawt* is indeed nothing more than a weak apology for his allegory, almost before it has begun, an “aside” to the reader that it would have been better not to make.

Liège / Oxford.

S. R. T. O. D'ARDENNE / J. R. R. TOLKIEN.

<sup>6</sup> An omission of a vowel (say *i*) has to be assumed before *þ*. For *þ* was not an equivalent of *w* in those uses where *w* could still be regarded as containing *u* + *u/ü*; *þ* could only be used as a consonant or (rarely) at the end of a diphthong.

## Sir Thomas Browne's Supposed Visit to the Continent

It is generally assumed that Sir Thomas Browne, who obtained the degree of M. D. at the University of Leyden in 1633, was again in Holland in 1665, the year of the Great Plague. The idea of Browne having visited the Continent in 1665 was first suggested by Simon Wilkin, the famous Browne editor more than a hundred years ago, and since then it has been repeated by all great Browne biographers. I am suggesting that the assumption of such a visit has no foundation in fact, as it is based on a misreading of the relevant textual evidence.

The history of this error is interesting, and a good example of the way in which these things happen. According to Wilkin (*Sir Thomas Browne's Works*, London, 1835-6, II, p. xii—xiii) the translator of the first Dutch edition of *Religio Medici*, which appeared in 1665, mentions, in his preface, having met Sir Thomas Browne at Vorburg (*sic*), at the house of a friend, and having then been recommended by the author to read his work. "Of this visit to the Continent," Wilkin continues, "which must have taken place during his residence at Norwich, we have no other intimation than is conveyed in this slight notice." This was how it all started.

Once launched upon the world of learning under the auspices of Wilkin's authority the imp of error was free to play its pranks on more than one prospective Browne scholar, and seventy years after its *début* we find it still going strong. In 1905 Wilkin's conjectural statement was taken over bodily, and uncritically, by the late Sir Edmund Gosse, who, by associating this visit with the postscript to Sir Thomas Browne's letter of Sept. 22nd, 1665, to his son Edward in Paris ("The sicknesse wch God so long withheld from us is now in Norwich. I intend to send your sisters to Claxton, & if it increaseth to remove 3 or 4 miles of, where I may bee serviceable upon occasion to my friends in other diseases ...") Keynes, *The Works*, VI, p. 32) made bold to refer this otherwise unrecorded excursion to the Plague year 1665, thus neatly providing Wilkin's bare statement with a suitable human background. On p. 154 of his monograph on *Sir Thomas Browne* in the English Men of Letters series (London, 1905) Sir Edmund writes: "In September 1665 the plague came to Norwich, and Browne hurried the ladies of his household off to Claxton, he himself intending, if the epidemic grew really serious, 'to remove three or four miles off,' and visit his country patients from that point. I cannot help conjecturing that he took this opportunity to make the only foreign excursion of which we hear in his mature days." He goes on to say that of this we should know nothing if the Dutch translator [*viz.* of *Religio Medici*] had not stated that he met Browne at the house of a friend, at Vorburg, and that he was thus led to read and translate his works. In a naïve footnote Gosse speculates on the location of this mysterious "Vorburg", explaining that a *vorburg* is simply a suburb, and eventually wavering between Warburg (!) and Voorburg, "the village just outside The Hague, on the Leyden road, where (by the way) Spinoza was at that time residing."

Again, Olivier Leroy, the learned author of a recent study on Sir Thomas Browne, simply echoes Gosse when he says: "Peut-être faut-il placer à cette époque [viz. at the time of the first Dutch translation of *Religio Medici*] un voyage que fit Browne en Hollande, voyage que l'on ne connaît que par une vague allusion du traducteur hollandais de *Religio Medici*, qui l'aurait rencontré alors à Vorburg, chez un ami." He even follows Gosse in his ludicrous footnote on "Vorburg", though he does not go so far as to suggest Warburg as a possible candidate (*Le Chevalier Thomas Browne (1605—1682). Sa vie, sa pensée, & son art.* Paris, J. Gamber, 1931, p. 72, 73).

Finally, Geoffrey Keynes, the author of a monumental *Bibliography of Sir Thomas Browne* (Cambridge, 1924), and the editor of what will probably prove to be the definitive text of Browne's works (*The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, 6 vols., London, 1928—1931) has been instrumental in perpetuating the life of this tough fable, in so far as he printed, without comment, Wilkin's suggestion of Browne having visited the Continent in 1665 (*A Bibliography*, p. 40); four years later he seems to identify himself completely with the views expressed by his great predecessor when he declares that there would be little to add to Wilkin's biographical researches, Sir Thomas Browne's life having been an uneventful one (*The Works*, I, p. vii). So much for the myth.

A closer examination of the textual evidence which is purported to be the only indication of this otherwise unknown visit shows that the whole story of Sir Thomas Browne's voyage to the Low Countries in 1665 is based on a misinterpretation of the relevant passage in the preface to the first Dutch edition of *Religio Medici*, which was published at Leyden in 1665. The exact title of this rare 12mo volume is:

Religio / Medici. / Dat is: / Noodwendige beschryvinge / van / Mr.  
Thomas Browne, / Vermaert Medicijn-Meester tot / Norwich, / Aengaende  
sijn Gesindtheyt, / datse over-een-komt met de gesuyver- / de Gods-dienst  
van Engelandt. / In de Nederlantsche Tale overgeset, en met / eenige  
Aenmerckingen versien. / [vignette] / Gedruckt tot Laege-duynen. /  
In 't Jaer 1665.<sup>1</sup>

Here is the passage in question, taken from the *Voor-Reden, Aen den Verstandigen ende goetgunstigen Leser*, which occurs at \*2b—\*7a. After an apostrophic remark, in which the writer of the preface acknowledges his spiritual debt to the author of *Religio Medici*, he proceeds to state the occasion of his first acquaintance with the book:

Draeg gy [viz. Sir Thomas Browne] die wel-verdiende eere altoos van my weg, werde en wel-geleerde Man, dat ick door het lesen van uw Boeck vromer ben geworden, verstandiger of geleerder derf ick niet wel seggen. Ick soud' oock ondanckbaer moeten wesen, indien ick U.E. niet en

<sup>1</sup> Keynes, No. 68. *Collation*: \*8 A-P12 Q2. Besides the copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library recorded by Keynes there are copies in the Amsterdam and Leyden University Libraries.

bedanckte mijn Vriendt en mijn Heere Doctor L. doen gy tot Voorburg, ten huysse van mijn wel-beminde en wel-Edele Neve, Joncker de M. my dit Boeck eerst-mael hebt aengepresen, soo als gy over de maeltijt, van het eene end' het andere, een seer geleerde en verstandige rede, ter eeren van U.E. selfs, en van het gantsche geselschap voerde, by de welke ik U.E. mijn seer weerde Heere, altijt ter eeren gedencken sal, soo lang als ick aen mijn selven sal gedencken...

This quotation proves that Wilkin's statement about the Dutch translator of *Religio Medici* having mentioned in his preface that he had met Sir Thomas Browne at the house of a friend at "Vorburg", and having then been recommended by the author to read his book, is erroneous. There is no question of his having met Sir Thomas Browne at all. What the writer of the preface — whether he be the translator or not — *did* say was that, when dining at his cousin's house at Voorburg, his friend, a certain Dr. L., recommended him to read the *Religio Medici*. It is, of course, beyond doubt that this Voorburg was the village near The Hague.

This much will suffice to explode Wilkin's myth of Sir Thomas Browne's Dutch excursion in 1665, and to relegate all subsequent versions of it to the realms of fancy. Nor does the available evidence warrant the assumption of such a visit on other grounds. It is certainly curious that Simon Wilkin, whose edition of the Works of Sir Thomas Browne is generally reputed to be one of the best edited books in the English language, and whose biographical and bibliographical work is excellent, should be caught napping in this not unimportant detail of his vast labour; his inadequate knowledge of Dutch may have played him a trick. But it is more curious to reflect that so many eminent Browne scholars after him, though faced with the uncomfortable "fact" of this elusive visit and unable to explain it away, should have allowed this strange error to pass undetected.

Nijmegen.

JAC. G. RIEWALD.

### Dover Beach and The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich

Matthew Arnold had a notorious weakness for the magnificent peroration; and indeed many of his best poems owe their success largely to the similes with which they end. This is especially true of *Dover Beach*; but it seems not yet to have been pointed out that here the concluding simile may have some historical interest as well as aesthetic appeal. The last section of the poem reads as follows:

Ah, love, let us be true  
To one another! for the world, which seems  
To lie before us like a land of dreams,  
So various, so beautiful, so new,  
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,

Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;  
 And we are here as on a darkling plain  
 Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,  
 Where ignorant armies clash by night.

In their Commentary upon the poetry of Matthew Arnold (Pages 175-6), Messrs C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry suggest that the simile was probably inspired by the account in Thucydides (Book VII, Chapters 43—4) of the battle of Epipolae. That this was the ultimate source, seems almost beyond dispute; but there are grounds, perhaps, for believing that the source was not drawn upon by Matthew Arnold directly.

In *The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich*, by Arthur Hugh Clough, the following lines occur:

Where does Circumstance end, and Providence, where begins it?  
 What are we to resist, and what are we to be friends with?  
 If there is battle, 'tis battle by night, I stand in the darkness  
 Here in the melee of men, Ionian and Dorian on both sides,  
 Signal and password known; which is friend and which is foeman?  
 (IX, 49-53)

It will be noticed that Clough's simile has even more than that of Arnold, to connect it with Thucydides. First of all there is the composite phrase, "battle by night", which sounds like a deliberate attempt to translate the single word used by Thucydides, *νυκτομαχία*. Secondly, there are the words, "Ionian and Dorian", indicating the Athenians and the Syracusans respectively. Thirdly, there is the specific mention of watchwords. Fourthly, and finally, there is the question: "Which is friend and which is foeman?" — almost reproducing the words of Dr Thomas Arnold's translation (Book III, page 254, of his 1835 edition): "They saw one another as men naturally would by moonlight; that is, to see before them the form of the object, but to mistrust their knowing who was friend and who was foe." It need hardly be added that the point made by the Editors of the Commentary, with regard to Matthew Arnold, has equal relevance to Arthur Hugh Clough: "Thucydides was of course one of Dr. Thomas Arnold's favourite authors, and was studied in the fifth and sixth forms at Rugby. There is evidence that the passage about the 'night-battle' was familiar coin among Rugbeians."

It seems clear, then, that from this passage in Thucydides Clough derived the idea for a simile to illustrate the confused antagonisms of the contemporary world. The question now arises, whether Arnold struck independently upon the same idea, or owed it, in any sense, to his reading of Clough's poem. Chronological evidence is inconclusive. *The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich* was written in September 1848, published early in November 1848, and read by Matthew Arnold before the end of that month. (See Letters to Clough, No. 23). *Dover Beach* was not published until 1867, but the Commentary reveals (Pages 173-5) that a draft of the first 28 lines was written on the back of a sheet of paper containing notes on the career of Empedocles. It seems that *Empedocles on Etna* was started

in 1849, from which it may reasonably be concluded that the beginning of *Dover Beach* was written in the same year. Unfortunately, the date of composition of the last 9 lines cannot be fixed so easily, since they appear to have been already in existence when the first 28 lines were written. It would be natural, however, to assume that no great period elapsed between the composition of the beginning and end of so comparatively short a poem; and, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the date of the last 9 lines of *Dover Beach* may plausibly be fixed at the end of 1848, or the beginning of 1849.

So far, then, as chronology is concerned, we can well believe that Arnold wrote the last lines of *Dover Beach* after reading *The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich*; but there is no firm evidence that in fact he did so. There are, however, considerations — other than chronological — which seem to suggest that the end of Arnold's poem is in some way a derivative of the *Bothie*. The central idea of the Arnold passage is that the fidelity of lovers is the only protection against the disappointments, the miseries, and the uncertainties of the outside world. Now let us consider the context in which the Clough simile occurs: Philip Hewson, after a lengthy vacillation between the charms of Katie, the poor cottage girl, and Lady Maria, the rich society beauty; and between a violent antipathy towards the whole social system, and a conservative acquiescence in poverty as a means to the end of "the life beautiful" for the rich, finally falls in love with Elspie Mackaye, and is convinced that marriage with her will mean happiness and peace. Moreover, on the page after the simile of the night-battle, occurs a much longer simile, in which Philip Hewson compares the effect of love on himself with the effect of day-break on a great city, which idealizes all the ugly and evil aspects of modern civilization:

So that the whole great wicked artificial civilized fabric —  
All its unfinished houses, lots for sale, and railway out-works —  
Seem reaccepted, resumed to Primal Nature and Beauty: —  
Such — in me, and to me, and on me the love of Elspie. (IX, 105-108)

There, already, was enough to call up, in Arnold's mind, the associations of faithful love as the antidote against the evils of the world. But in addition there was the advice given, two pages later, by Hobbes to Philip Hewson (IX, 167-185). The story of Rachel and Leah, said Hobbes, is an allegory of Marriage: Laban, their father, represents circumstance, chance, the world, our uncle and hard task-master, and he always brings it about that, when we love and marry Rachel, we find ourselves living with Leah. The great thing is to accept her:

Neither hate thou thy Leah, my Jacob, she also is worthy.

Here again may surely be detected a potential germ of "Ah, love, let us be true to one another, for the world..."

Suggestions for several other points in Arnold's nine lines may likewise be found in the *Bothie*. Before Philip and Elspie, the world certainly

seemed to lie like a land of dreams; firstly because of the wedded bliss to which they looked forward, and secondly because they were about to emigrate to a concrete "land of dreams", New Zealand. Moreover, just as Clough, when he wrote the *Bothie*, had broken away from Oxford, and was to seek happiness in the great world of London, so Philip Hewson leaves the University, and expects to find splendid things outside it. "So various..." — Philip has just concluded a list (IX, 15-39) of the diverse vocations open to human beings, ranging from tramp at one end of the scale to hospital nurse at the other. "So new..." — Philip and Elspie were going to the New World. "Hath really neither joy, nor love;" — the Tutor's final words to Philip were:

Joy be with you, my boy, with you and your beautiful Elspie.  
 Happy is he that found, and finding was not heedless;  
 Happy is he that found, and happy the friend that was with him.  
 (IX, 190-192)

The editors of the Commentary have pointed out (Page 218, note 8) one instance of the attention paid by Arnold to the Latin quotations with which Clough prefaced the nine sections of his *Bothie*. The quotation preceding the section in which the night-battle simile occurred — "Arva, beata petamus arva" — may well have reminded Arnold of the poem from which it is taken, the 16th Epode of Horace. Here Horace speaks despairingly of the curse which seems to have fallen upon Rome, the aimless bloodshed of the civil war, and the lapse of his country from her former greatness; his only solution is to escape across the sea to the fabled islands of the blest. There is an obvious similarity between the mood in which Horace wrote the first part of Epode 16, and that in which Arnold wrote the last part of *Dover Beach*: from this may plausibly be conjectured that Arnold's expression of his mood was suggested by the Epode, and that his attention was drawn to the Epode by contemplation of the *Bothie*. That he did in fact re-read or remember the Epode about this time, in connection with Clough's quotation, may seem the more probable, if we consider the words immediately preceding and following "arva, beata petamus arva":

Nos manet Oceanus circumvagus: arva, beata  
 Petamus arva, divites et insulas. (Ep. XVI, 41-2)

The ideas, here in juxtaposition, of the encircling sea, and of rich islands, may well have been the starting point for the image in the poem, written at some time between September 1848 and 1852, which begins:

Yes, in the sea of life enisled,  
 With echoing straits between us thrown,  
 Dotting the shoreless watery wild,  
 We mortal millions live alone.  
 The islands feel the encircling flow ...

The last line quoted is particularly reminiscent of the Horatian passage.

An attempt has now been made to demonstrate the probability that Arnold did read, and think about, the *Bothie* — including the night-battle simile — before writing the last nine lines of *Dover Beach*. It remains to enquire whether his debt to Clough was purely unconscious and accidental, or whether there was an intentional relationship between the two poems. The first point to be noticed is Arnold's expressed reaction to his friend's work. In "On translating Homer", (pages 213 ff.), he spoke favourably of the *Bothie*; but this was a public lecture, and his capacity for concealing private disapproval under public praise is sufficiently indicated by his remarks on Harriet Martineau and Charlotte Brontë in "Haworth Churchyard". For his genuine opinions we must go to his personal correspondence; and in Letter No. 23 to Clough, dated November 1848, we find this deeply revealing sentence: "I have been at Oxford the last two days, and hearing Sellar and the rest of that clique who know neither life nor themselves rave about your poem gave me a strong, almost bitter feeling with respect to them, the age, the poem, even you." This same Sellar wrote an article on Clough for the *North British Review*, November 1862, in which he stated that he still considered "the *Bothie* the most lively and natural description of a phase of real modern life which we know of in English verse." This judgement, taken in conjunction with Arnold's indignation against the clique "who know neither life nor themselves", and with the key-word "really" in the conclusion of *Dover Beach*, may well be of prime significance in the attempt to understand the relationship between the two poems. It seems clear that, in spite of his explicit strictures upon the metre and the manner of the *Bothie*, his main objection to the work was that it did *not* describe real modern life: it was not realistic. Philip Hewson starts out as a Radical, intensely critical of everything in the world around him; he ends up as a happily married man, very nearly acquiescent in the status quo:

Yet you are right, I suppose; if you don't attack my conclusion,  
Let us get on as we can, and do the thing we are fit for;  
Everyone for himself, and the common success for us all, and  
Thankful, if not for our own, why then for the triumph of others  
Get along, each as we can, and do the thing we are meant for.

(IV, 66-70)

To Arnold, the complacently happy ending of the *Bothie* must have seemed a betrayal of the reforming spirit; for idyllic happiness was not to be found either in the islands of the blest, or in New Zealand; nor was it tolerable to acquiesce in the condition of mid-Victorian England, relying merely upon a laissez-faire philosophy of muddling through, each man getting along as best he could. Arnold's disgust with the *Bothie*, and with Clough, was sharp enough to cause a coldness between the two friends, which lasted until 1853; and although Arnold then tried to explain his unfriendly attitude away, by attributing it to a temporary desire for intellectual seclusion, he admitted, significantly, that the desire had come upon him "shortly after you had published the *Bothie*". (See Letters to Clough, No. 42). He was reconciled to Clough; but two years later (Letter No. 52) he was still

unable to keep the acidity out of his tone, when commenting on the *Bothie*, even though the ostensible object of his censure was Tennyson's recently published *Maud*.

Sufficient evidence has now, perhaps, been collected, to justify the advancement of a new theory about the origin of *Dover Beach*. I suggest that Arnold expressed his disagreement with the wishful thinking of the *Bothie*, by writing a poetical fragment of nine lines. He took for his starting point a memory shared with Clough — a schoolboy memory of a passage in Thucydides. He then set to work on the fundamental theme of the *Bothie* — love, life, happiness, and the world — and gave it a treatment which seemed to him more consistent with reality. He rearranged the balance between love and the world. Clough had said, in the *Bothie*: "The world may seem a wretched place, but love can make it a paradise." Arnold replied, in his nine lines of poetry: "The world is a wretched place, and will remain so; but love can make it easier to endure." In brief, he corrected Clough's "criticism of life".

This would not be the only occasion on which Arnold wrote poetry in order to treat more realistically the theme of another poet. In *A Browning Handbook* (page 260), Professor William C. DeVane has already pointed out that *Growing Old* was probably an answer to Browning's *Rabbi Ben Ezra*. The sub-title of Arnold's *The Progress of Poesy* implied that it was a variation on the theme treated by Thomas Gray in his Pindaric Ode. Just as Browning's radiant sage was replaced by Arnold's "hollow ghost"; just as Gray's stream of poesy, "deep, majestic, smooth and strong", was replaced by Arnold's dry and stony channel; so, it seems almost certain, Clough's "arva beata" were replaced by Arnold's barren wilderness, empty of joy, and love, and light. If any further confirmation be needed, it is to be found in the fact that Arnold, who paid unusually careful attention to the order in which his poems were arranged, finally grouped *Dover Beach*, *Growing Old*, and *The Progress of Poesy* together. They belong together because all three have a similar origin: all three are comments upon poems by other authors.

It must have struck many readers as a curious thing, that *Dover Beach*, which was apparently completed in 1849, and is now among the most popular of Arnold's poems, should have remained unpublished for eighteen years. It is now possible to suggest an explanation. Clearly, the fragment of nine lines was unsuitable for publication by itself; but even when the other 28 lines had been added, Arnold still had good reason for hesitation. If the poem were published, Clough would undoubtedly recognize his simile. Either he would think Arnold guilty of an unfriendly piece of plagiarism, or, worse still, he would suspect the truth: in either case, he would probably take offence. Accordingly, Arnold kept *Dover Beach* to himself; and it was only when Clough had been dead for six years, that the borrowed simile was let out into the world.

London.

PAUL TURNER.

**On Literary Echoes.** As every student knows, modern English prose is full of echoes and reminiscences of older English literature, especially verse, to an extent probably unparalleled in the literature of any other country. One who knows his Shakespeare is positively tripped up by borrowings from the great poet's works, from single words charged with special significance to shorter or longer phrases; one who does not is bound to miss a great deal of the nicer shades of many a modern author's meaning. The literary tradition which thus links up the writings of the present day with those of former ages may be said to begin with Wyatt. Not that Chaucerian echoes are entirely lacking in modern prose, but they are mainly restricted to an inner circle of *conoscenti*. That Wyatt should be placed at the beginning of the living tradition of English literary diction may appear surprising to those for whom English poetry begins with Spenser. That the position is none the less justified will appear from what follows.

*The Times Literary Supplement* of October 4, 1947, contains a two-page article (by D. W. Brogan?) on John Gunther's recent book *Inside U.S.A.* It will be necessary for our purpose to quote the last paragraph but one in full:

As the reader closes Mr. Gunther's book the vast American procession repasses in imagination. From its unordered, anarchic, milling mass stand out word-pictures which a consummate reporter has built: the telephone directory in St. Paul that lists Curtis (see also Curtice-Curtiss-Curts-Kertesz-Kurts); the Notre Dame team of Roman Catholics which included only two Irishmen *plus* Skoglund, Mieszkowski, Mastrangelo, Rovai, Berezney, Dancewicz, Collela, Augsman and Ruggiero; the Soo Locks that pass more cargo in six months than the Suez and Panama Canals combined in one year, and the "biggest hole in the world" of iron-ore in Upper Minnesota that keeps those locks busy; the organization of the Mormon Church and of Utah; the Nevadan economics of gambling and divorce; how salmon in Washington are led upstairs beside the big dams to reach their birth- breeding- and death-beds; the successful organization of so many "crusades" in America and the remarkable social progress due to patience and publicity. All these "stills" and many more pass by, just as Gibbon's emperors and empresses go on stalking within one's chamber long after one has shut the book and put out the light.

The phrase "stalking within one's chamber" is from Wyatt's poem superscribed, in Arber's reprint of what the nineteenth century has called *Tottel's Miscellany* (p. 40), *The louer sheweth how he is forsaken of such as he somtime enioyed*:

They flee from me, that somtime did me feke  
With naked fote stalking within my chamber.

As was pointed out by a correspondent in the *Times Lit. Suppl.* of Nov. 8, 1928,<sup>1</sup> Wyatt's ms., preserved in the British Museum, has 'in' instead of

<sup>1</sup> See also Miss Foxwell's edition of *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, Vol. I, pp. 86-87, and Hyder Rollins' edition of *Tottel's Miscellany*, Vol. II, p. 179, where more deviations from the ms. are listed. — "It is undoubtedly a good thing for his reputation among general readers to-day, as it was in the sixteenth century, that in the miscellany many of his texts were subjected to an editorial process that modernized even though it debased them." (H.R., II, p. 77.)

'within', which alters the rhythm of the line, certainly not to its disadvantage. In this as in many other cases Tottel tampered with the authentic reading, to bring it into conformity with his own notions of prosody, and it is in the form given it by Tottel that Wyatt's line has been handed down to posterity.

Another point deserves to be noted. Wyatt used 'stalk' in the now obsolete sense defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as 'To walk softly, cautiously, or stealthily' (last quot. 1587). In the article in the *T.L.S.*, whose writer seems to have been reading Gibbon recently, this meaning appears to be tinged with the modern sense 'Stride, walk in stately or imposing manner' (COD) — which is rather what one expects Roman or Byzantine emperors and empresses to do. In passing down the ages, Wyatt's striking line of verse has suffered a sea-change, to be washed ashore at last, 'improved' by his Elizabethan printer,<sup>2</sup> and twisted from its original meaning by a reminiscence of an eighteenth-century historian, in a *Times* article on "The American Atmosphere." — Z.

**Prof. Dr. A. E. H. Swaen** †. Dr. A. E. H. Swaen, who was Professor of English in the University of Amsterdam from 1913 to 1933, died on October 28, aged 84. He edited a number of seventeenth-century plays and contributed to various learned periodicals. He was a co-editor of *Neophilologus*.

## Reviews

*Anthologie de la Poésie anglaise. Choix, traduction et commentaires* par LOUIS CAZAMIAN. XXIX + 360 pp. Editions Stock, 1946. Sewn, 250 fr.

Representative passages and complete poems from the works of about eighty English and Scotch poets ranging from Cynewulf to Ruth Pitter. For the benefit of French speakers whose English is not quite on a par with their literary interest M. Cazamian has juxtaposed full metrical translations, nearly all his own. To speak of a feat of industry would be belittling the merits of this remarkable production, which is definitely a labour of love. One is struck at every turn by the apparently effortless ease, the smooth elegance of his renderings and by their unswerving fidelity to the original. M. Cazamian has been wisely aware of the subservient purpose of his

<sup>2</sup> In strict point of fact the *Songes and Sonettes* were, of course, first published the year before the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

contribution. Fidelity, he says in the introduction, has been his paramount concern, so that he could not afford to have his hands tied by "the golden chains of rhyme". He also deprecates any appreciation of his effort by technical standards of normal French versification.

While the principle of selection adhered to consisted in balancing historical with poetical claims, M. Cazamian rightly holds that with an anthologist the aesthetic element should outweigh the historical every time. "Dans les pages qui suivent", he says, "le lyrisme est roi". Of all types of poetry it alone, in its spontaneous and sincere emotional utterance, is truly significant and revealing. The learned compiler casts his net with a sure and wide sweep, incorporating what suits his purpose regardless of labels from such sources as Langland, Milton (*Paradise Lost*), Pope, Crabbe. The 'emotionally barren' Eighteenth Century comes in for ample inclusion. Stern admonition from legislative quarters — "All power of fancy over reason is a degree of insanity" — failed signally to protect the stream of limpid reason from imaginative pollution.

In the case of the Great Alexander one cannot help being somewhat loath (though not from any desire to vindicate his sanity) to assent to the choice of the fragment from the *Essay on Man*, the one triumphantly culminating in the cheerful Leibnizian echo. At the foot — his lapidary comments and characterizations are very interesting! — the writer remarks: "Ce passage est d'un Pope échauffé jusqu'au lyrisme". Yes, there appears to be some evidence of the brainy bard warming to his subject, but that might be rhetoric rather than philosophical fervour or mystic rapture.

Are lyrical qualities here implicitly attributed also to satire (e.g. in the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*)? Lyricism and satire, apart from being modes of self-expression, could hardly have much in common. In their extreme manifestations they might be described, the one as ecstatic emotional or spiritual communion, the other as verbal homicide. If there is a common denominator between a blissful smile and a malicious grin: facial expression, it does not identify them.

No lyrical passages from dramatic literature have been included, on the ground that, being indirect effusions, they are in a way impersonal and not altogether the expression of a 'unique sensibility'. This train of reasoning does not wholly apply to the ballad, of which a few early specimens are embodied.

M. Cazamian's anthology is an interesting and instructive book that anyone, also outside France, would be glad to possess. It is printed on excellent paper and does not look austerity-conditioned.<sup>1</sup>

The Hague.

G. H. GOETHART.

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<sup>1</sup> The Old English texts have been rather carelessly printed, that of *The Seafarer* containing no less than a dozen errors.

*Symbolisme et Poésie. L'exemple anglais.* Par LOUIS CAZAMIAN, ancien professeur à la Sorbonne. 253 pp. Neuchâtel: Editions de la Baconnière, 1947. 7,50 francs.

This is an admirable book in its way. It contains a good selection of poems from Anne Countess of Winchelsea and James Thomson down to T. S. Eliot and Cecil Day Lewis together with French translations in prose; some of the eighteenth century poems quoted are not well known and deserve to be studied closely by all lovers of poetry. But Professor Cazamian's principal merit is to have written to each poem a commentary that is a model of clear exposition and sensitive appreciation. Some fifteen years ago lecturers on English poetry like I. A. Richards or his disciple David Shillan, the first in *Practical Criticism* (1930) and the second in *Exercises in Criticism* (1931), tried out various experiments to help their students towards a correct understanding of meaning and to show them the causes of unnecessary misunderstanding. A better method than this, because more direct and therefore more stimulating to the aesthetic sense, is employed in this French anthology where the beauty of a poem is analysed and appreciated without the reader having first to decide whether the "experiences" of the poet are "valuable" or not.

The only reservations that must be made concern the theoretical parts of the book, especially the two introductory chapters, "Symbolisme et poésie" and "Les racines du symbolisme poétique en Angleterre". Professor Cazamian betrays in them that love of abstractions, classifications, and subtle psychological distinctions which make his earlier studies, even including his *History of English Literature*, often so singularly hard and unprofitable reading. His thesis is that all great poetry is a form of symbolism. By relating the term "symbolism" to the imaginative and emotional aspects of poetry only, he excludes the classicist tradition, which is predominantly intellectual, from his survey. The truth of the thesis appears however more convincingly in his interpretation of single poems than in his theoretical statements.

Geneva.

H. W. HÄUSERMANN.

## Current Literature

### ii. Criticism and Biography

(Concluded)

There has recently been a resurgence of interest in Katherine Mansfield. In the previous survey (*E. S.*, Febr. 1947) the publication of her *Collected Stories* was noticed. The latest biographical and critical contribution comes from a Danish author, Anne Friis, whose *Katherine Mansfield, Life and*

*Stories* (Copenhagen, Einar Munksgaard, Kr. 5.50) sets out "to give a short description of the life of Katherine Mansfield, paying a special regard to those events in her life which shaped her development; to trace her development and indicate her attitude to life and art; and to elucidate the peculiar character of her art, and show her growth as an artist." (Preface). This is rather an ambitious object for a book of 180 pages, and though the writer makes a number of interesting points which show that she has read and considered the stories carefully, it is not completely achieved. The book falls into two parts, the biographical and the critical; of the two the latter is the more illuminating, noticing as it does the probable influence upon Katherine Mansfield's art of Dickens and Anton Chekhov, and suggesting that "the unique position Katherine Mansfield occupies among short-story writers is, in part at least, to be sought in the fact that her stories, in point of form, stand mid-way between drama and poetry." (p. 153)<sup>1</sup> The most valuable chapters are perhaps the last two, entitled "Themes" and "Visions" respectively. There are copious quotations from Katherine Mansfield's works and plenty of references to the opinions of earlier writers, while chapter and verse are given for everything that is cited; but the biographical part is rather sketchy while the critical section, though methodically arranged, does not reveal any great originality or depth of research. It is, however, a valuable collation and appraisal of earlier judgments, and it is in this that the chief merit of the book lies, though it is a pity that neither in the text nor the bibliography is there any reference to a most suggestive essay on Katherine Mansfield by David Daiches in his book *New Literary Values* (1936). The English style is, on the whole, extraordinarily good, though occasionally the writer trips up on small points of idiom and at least once over the precise meaning of a word, while there are several misprints which apparently escaped notice when the proofs were read. And one other complaint: Katherine Mansfield was closely connected with the literary world of her day, and many of the tendencies manifested in her writings were also to be seen elsewhere. Unfortunately the author of this book has isolated her, together with her husband Middleton Murry, from that world and has therefore failed to see her in perspective. Take it all in all, Miss Friis has written a praiseworthy and valuable introduction to Katherine Mansfield and her works; but it is only an introduction. The final estimate has yet to be made.

Siegfried Sassoon, always an attractive writer in prose as well as in poetry, has published the third volume of his autobiography under the title *Siegfried's Journey, 1916-1920* (Faber & Faber, 1945, 10/6). Following on directly from *The Weald of Youth*, it covers the period of his return from the war, his brief excursion into Left-Wing journalism as Literary Editor of the *Daily Herald*, and lecture-tour in America. Perhaps some of the charm of *The Old Century* and its successor is missing in the present

<sup>1</sup> Presumably the writer meant to say, "The explanation of the unique position etc. . . is to be found."

volume, but that was almost inevitable as the ground shifted from the days of the writer's childhood and youth to his early manhood, and as the spacious days of the Victorian and Edwardian eras gave way to the grim realities of the early post-war years. But if the feeling is more serious it is also deeper than in the earlier volumes, and we feel that the writer, in his reaction to the times through which he lived, is not only expressing himself but the whole of his age and generation. The narrative, tinged throughout with a strain of gentle cynicism and perhaps a slight though pardonable degree of egotism, is characterised by restraint, carefulness of diction and an unerring sense of style. Lights and shades there assuredly are, but there are no purple patches, no striving after effect, no sentimentalism or excess of passion. Mr. Sassoon is perfectly at ease with the English language and writes in a disciplined and cultivated yet perfectly natural style. His is an autobiography which is also literature; and that cannot be said of all such works or their writers.

It certainly can be said, however, of Sir Osbert Sitwell, who has published the second volume of his autobiography in *The Scarlet Tree* (Macmillan, 15/—). It deals mainly with the period of his schooldays, first at a preparatory school and then at Eton. They were not happy days, and if his pictures of them and of some of his schoolmasters betray some bitterness and spite, they are nevertheless the pictures of a true artist. In *Who's Who* Sir Osbert declares, in characteristic manner, that he received his education during his vacations from Eton; perhaps that explains why, in the present book, the memories of his schooldays proper are subordinate to the memories of his home and the family circle. There are striking pictures of his mother and father, his brother and sister and their friends, and if the author is not sparing of his wit and satire it is not because he was lacking in affection. As a setting for these portraits we have a background of the manners, customs and life of the landed aristocracy at the opening of the present century — though the Sitwell family was far from being a typical one of its class; it was gifted, cultured and unconventional, as most others were not. Sir Osbert's picture of his boyhood makes delightful reading; his style is easy, polished, elegant and sparkling, and a slight tinge of sentiment softens the edge of that irony which is so characteristic of him. *The Scarlet Tree* is not only a chapter in autobiography; it is also one of the outstanding literary works of the year and should therefore, perhaps, have been more properly included in the previous survey.

Before leaving the prose-writers a brief mention should be made of four other works. In *Hardy in America* (Waterville, Maine, Colby College Press, n. p.) Professor Carl J. Weber surveys the fluctuations in the reputation of Thomas Hardy on the other side of the Atlantic; Sir Richard Livingstone's British Academy Lecture *Ruskin* (O.U.P., 2/—) seeks to defend Ruskin against recent depreciation and to show that his message is still relevant today; Roger Lancelyn Green, whose book on the writers of children's stories has been noticed above, gives a detailed study of one

of these writers who was also a scholar and translator of the Classics in *Andrew Lang, A Critical Biography* (Leicester, Edmund Ward, 15/—), while in a smaller booklet of sixty-four pages entitled *Hilaire Belloc. An Introduction to His Work and Spirit* (London, Douglas Organ, 5/—) Robert Hamilton writes a brief but sympathetic study of his subject, which it is to be hoped that he will enlarge in the near future.

By far the most important work that has appeared upon the drama of the period is Professor Allardyce Nicoll's *A History of Late Nineteenth Century Drama, 1850-1900* (C.U.P., 2 vols. Vol. I, 15/—, Vol. II, 25/—), with which the author completes the comprehensive survey of the development of the English drama since 1660, begun twenty-three years ago with *Restoration Drama*. "For us," writes Professor Nicoll in the preface to the present work, "the interest of these fifty years lies in the fact that in this period were born and established the conventions and conditions of our own stage." That, of course, is how the historian looks at it, and how he must look at it; but it is also abundantly clear from Professor Nicoll's work that this half-century, opening with the crude melodramas that followed each other in quick succession on the London stage, and ending with the comedies of Oscar Wilde and the early plays of Bernard Shaw, is of interest for its own sake. It was very much alive and conscious of its own identity. In the first volume (the smaller of the two) the author traces out the gradual rise of realism in the presentation of plays, the development of the theatre into an institution of universal appeal, the rise in the status of the actor, the dissolution of the old stock-companies and the establishment of the long run, the evolution of the problem play, the influence of the novel upon the drama of the time, and the conflict, in authors, audience and critics alike, between emotion and sentiment on the one hand and intellect on the other, with the final triumph of intellect. The individual playwrights who loom largest are Tom Taylor, Dion Boucicault, T. W. Robertson, H. J. Byron, W. S. Gilbert, James Albery, Henry Arthur Jones, Sir A. W. Pinero, Oscar Wilde and Bernard Shaw, all of whom are discussed at some length, though many others also enter into the story. Volume II consists entirely of a handlist of all the plays, however trivial, that were produced or written during the period — or at least as many of them as the author has been able to trace — with all relevant information about their first appearance upon the stage and in print. In all there are some 20,000 of them! One can only marvel at the energy, patience and diligent research which has made such a list possible, and when it is considered that similar though shorter lists have appeared in all the previous four instalments of history, the feat seems almost superhuman.

Ronald Peacock's *The Poet in the Theatre* (Routledge, 10/6) is not a well constructed work; indeed it is, within some 130 pages, a series of essays grouped around a central theme rather than one continuous book. It does not deal solely with English playwrights, and there is no observable method about the arrangement of the essays. One gathers that Mr. Peacock believes verse to be the only appropriate medium for the dramatist, though

he would not altogether deprecate the employment of prose provided the work is poetically conceived and animated by the poetic spirit. Consequently, he holds, drama tends to degenerate in proportion as it embraces realism, becomes over-intellectualised, seeks to portray "real life" upon the stage, and resorts to naturalism in dialogue. Ibsen, he contends, did more harm than good, because he tended to stress the thought rather than the form of a play, while the Edwardians such as Granville-Barker, Stanley Houghton and St. John Irvine were symbols of decadence. But Mr. Peacock believes that the day of realism is over and that there is once more hope for the poetic drama. Barrie and Synge were heralds of the renaissance, while recently T. S. Eliot, in his two plays *Murder in the Cathedral* and *The Family Reunion* has given a new impetus to the movement. Auden, it may be said in passing, is not mentioned; nor are Gordon Bottomley and Lascelles Abercrombie. Though there is much to be said for Mr. Peacock's thesis one cannot but feel that he has an axe to grind, and this, perhaps, leads him into an over-statement of his case.

In *The Theatre Royal, Drury Lane* (W. H. Allen & Co., 17/6) W. J. McQueen Pope tells the story of Drury Lane from its beginning to the present day. It is a popular rather than a scholarly work, but it is well written, with an abundance of illustrations. Unfortunately it is not well printed or produced. *Oscar Wilde* by Hesketh Pearson (Methuen, 16/—) is still another study of an author who has been very much written-up of recent years. Though it claims to be a biography and an assessment of Wilde's character, and though the writer disclaims at the outset any intention of presenting his readers with a study in pathology, one is left with the impression that, once the pathological aspect of the subject is dismissed, there is little of interest in Wilde's life and character left to study. That he was gifted, vain, a brilliant conversationalist and ambitious to become a social figure is true enough; but all this has been stated before and it is doubtful now whether anything further can be usefully written about him.

Bernard Shaw is still the greatest of our living dramatists. His ninetieth birthday, on July 26th., as was to be expected, produced a number of tributes, and articles upon him are to be found in most of the leading periodicals. In *G. B. S. at Ninety. Aspects of Bernard Shaw's Life and Work*, edited by S. Winston (Hutchinson, 21/—) twenty-seven well known contributors pay their homage to him. They include the Poet Laureate, Dean Inge, Gilbert Murray, C. E. M. Joad, Sir Max Beerbohm, Aldous Huxley, Daniel Jones, the late Lord Keynes and J. B. Priestley.

The poets and poetry of the nineteenth century attracted less notice during the period under review than they have done for a number of years past. This is due in part, no doubt, to the fact that the turmoil and confusion of the war years have hardly been conducive to a consideration and re-assessment of the romantics and their successors, partly to an inevitable lull after about a decade of exploration, and partly to a shifting of interest to an earlier age — the seventeenth century. The only work of any note is Edmund Blunden's *Shelley, A Life Story* (Collins, 12/6), but as this

was reviewed in *E. S.* of December 1946 no detailed examination of it is necessary here. Suffice it to say that it is an attempt to dispel the illusion of Shelley the "ethereal spirit" and to present in its place a more life-like Shelley who, even if he was in some respects abnormal, had a great deal in common with his fellow-men. Mr. Blunden has succeeded in bringing to his task scholarship without pedantry, sympathy and understanding without adulation. Keats has been less fortunate in his interpreters. *John Keats' Fancy* by J. Ralston Caldwell (Cornell University Press and O.U.P., 12/—) presents Keats' poetry as an expression in literature of John Locke's theory of the association of ideas, and supports this point of view by reference to his letters, which reveal that the poet was a student of Locke and attracted by his theory. Mr. Caldwell's thesis is an interesting one, urged with cogency and restraint, though whether Keats was consciously influenced by Locke is still open to doubt. Nor can one escape the impression that the author has made his theory appear a little more convincing than otherwise it would be by a careful selection of his material. A different choice might have revealed other influences equally strong. In *The Stylistic Development of Keats* (O.U.P. for the Modern Language Association of American, 18/—) W. J. Bate applies the methods of the statistician to literary criticism, compiling comparative figures for the frequency with which different kinds of epithets, different metres etc. were used by the poet at various stages of his development, a method resorted to again by Joseph Miles in *The Vocabulary of Poetry* (University of California Press and C.U.P., 22/—), where the style of twenty-five representative poets from Chaucer to the present day is analysed and compared in this way. No doubt there is something to be said for this method, judiciously and carefully used; but it is, after all, only an aid to criticism, a substitute, for it.

Owen Meredith (the pseudonym of Robert Earl of Lytton, son of Edward Bulwer Lytton) is a writer who, though he enjoyed a brief vogue in his day, is now almost forgotten so far as the student and reader of literature are concerned; not is this fate altogether undeserved, for his real claim to fame is a political rather than a literary one: he became the first Viceroy of India, an office which he filled with distinction. His transitory reputation as a writer rested partly upon the publicity this position brought him and partly on the fact that he had a well known novelist as his father. In *Owen Meredith, A Critical Biography of Robert, First Earl of Lytton* (Columbia University Press and O.U.P., 25/—) Mrs Aurelia Books Harlan writes a detailed life of him, combined with discerning criticism of his work. Her estimate is, on the whole, level-headed and restrained; while she seeks to re-awaken an interest in some of his writings she does not make the mistake of claiming too much for them, a merit not shared by all books which aim at rehabilitating a minor writer.

John Masfield's *Thanks before Going* (Heinemann, 7/6) purports to be a collection of notes on some of the poems of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. It

is a disappointing book. As an expression of gratitude to Rossetti for the pleasure his work has given to Mr. Masfield, and as a defence of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, no fault can be found with it; but it is essentially a personal book, in which the reader is all but ignored. There is very little real criticism, adulation takes the place of sober appreciation, and (most serious defect of all) the author assumes that his reader will be as familiar with the minutiae of Rossetti's works as he himself is, an assumption which relieves him of the obligation to quote. The result is that, if the book is to be understood or read intelligently, a considerable amount of time and trouble must be expended searching through a collection of Rossetti's works to look up the references.

Equally disappointing from the point of view of the student of literature is Robert W. Service's autobiography *Ploughman of the Moon* (Benn, 15/—). Robert Service is one of the best known of modern Canadian poets; he has sometimes been called the Canadian Rudyard Kipling. He has published a considerable body of verse — much of it, it must be admitted, not of the highest order — and consequently one would expect to find in his autobiography a good deal about his literary life. Actually it occupies but a subordinate place, the greater part of the narrative being concerned with his early days in Scotland, his cheated ambitions and frustrated hopes, his emigration and his subsequent life in Canada as shopkeeper, bank-clerk and adventurer. But if he does not tell us much about the side of his activity that we should like him to, what he does tell us makes pleasant and entertaining reading.

T. S. Eliot continues to command attention, *Four Quartets Rehearsed*, by Raymond Preston (Sheed & Ward, 5/—) is a commentary on and an attempted interpretation of Eliot's four poems "Burnt Norton", "East Coker", "Dry Salvages" and "Little Gidding", which Mr. Preston regards as constituting a cycle with a common notion running through them and linking them together. At the same time he sees in each one, on the technical side, something of the thematic statement and development of music. "If Beethoven reached beyond music in his last Quartets," he writes, "Eliot reaches beyond poetry in these poems." He examines the background, the religious thought and feeling, the symbolism and the allusiveness of the poems; he reveals unsuspected influences of earlier writers and often surprises the reader with his illumination of the richness and suggestiveness of Eliot's imagery. One cannot but read the book with great respect; yet it seems to suffer from a defect common to many books on modern poetry: to those who are in sympathy with Eliot and can already, to some extent, appreciate his work it should be helpful, but to those who find him "difficult" or "not easily intelligible" it offers little assistance. Rather it is calculated to suggest that Eliot is not for the ordinary or average reader of poetry and that if, as he himself affirmed, the poet, to be a poet at all, must be responsive to and conscious of the whole tradition of poetry from the remotest time to his own day, and feel himself at one with it, no less

so must the reader: which may, of course, be true, but it offers cold comfort to any but the *élite*.

It is for just the kind of person that Mr. Preston's work is likely to baffle and discourage that Miss E. M. Stephenson has written *T. S. Eliot and the Lay Reader* (Fortune Press, 6/—). A slim book of only ninety-four pages, it manages to compress a great deal within a small space. It does not purport to be an exhaustive treatment of Eliot's verse, still less does it lay claim to being a critical treatise, but it does discuss and explain those things which the lay reader (and that term includes about fifty per cent of those who try to grapple with Eliot) finds disconcerting and sometimes even insurmountable obstacles. Miss Stephenson's method of writing, unfortunately, is not always to be commended; too frequently it tends to verbosity and inelegance, and sometimes, in a misguided attempt to capture the confidence of the reader and to avoid any appearance of pedantry or the academic approach, degenerates into slang and colloquialism. But despite this her book is one that is well worth study, and not only by the "lay reader" of the title.

Several valuable articles and pamphlets upon recent poetry have appeared during the year. The *Times Literary Supplement* of March 30th. contains an article on A. E. Housman's "A Shropshire Lad" to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of the volume, and the same journal for November 23rd. has an appreciation of George Darley entitled "The Poet of Solitude"; C. M. Bowra's *The Background of Modern Poetry* (O.U.P., 2/—), the text of his inaugural lecture as Professor of Poetry at Oxford, is a defence of the moderns though not at the expense of the older and more traditional writers; H. W. Garrod's *Scholarship, its Meaning and Value* (the J. H. Gray Lecture for 1946, C.U.P., 4/6) discusses the scholarship of the Renaissance, examines the modern trends, protests against much of the cant that is commonly talked about the Classics, and finally arrives at the conclusion that "scholarship fulfils its function today, as in the past, in proportion as it is tutelary of things spiritual", while *Robert Bridges*, by the late George S. Gordon (C.U.P., 1/6) is an estimate and appraisal of the former Poet Laureate's place in English poetry. It was originally delivered as the Rede Lecture at Cambridge in 1931 and is now printed for the first time by courtesy of his widow. Needless to say, it is distinguished by a grace and ease of style, as well as the critical honesty and unerring judgment which characterised all of Gordon's writings. Finally there is Basil Willey's *The Q. Tradition* (C.U.P., 1/6). The inaugural lecture of Professor Willey as occupant of the King Edward VII Chair of English Literature at Cambridge (a position formerly held with distinction by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch himself), it deals with Q as a scholar and teacher rather than as an original and creative writer, and especially with his crusade against jargon.

In *The Indian Contribution to English Literature* (Bombay, Karnatak Publishing House, Ks. 2) K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar has written a full and detailed account of the work, in the English language, of what he calls

Indo-Anglicans<sup>1</sup> from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present day. Interpreting the word "literature" in its widest sense, he has not confined himself merely to fiction, essays, poetry and drama but has included biography, history, oratory, philosophy, religion, criticism, journalism, economics, education and jurisprudence—in fact almost anything that has been written by Indians in the English language. From one point of view this is to be regretted, since it leads to a certain disconnectedness, diffuseness, and lack of concentration in the work, while from the point of view of the student of literature in the more generally accepted sense of the term a good proportion of the book is irrelevant. It also means, as Sir Bomanji Wadia confesses in a foreword, that "it includes writings many of which belong at their best to the sphere of well-cultivated mediocrity." On the other hand its very comprehensiveness makes it a useful guide to the most important writings, on a diversity of subjects, which have come from the pens of Indo-Anglicans over the past century and a half. Those sections which deal with literature proper (rather more than half the book) make interesting and enlightening reading, while the author is particularly good in his discussion of some recent Indian criticism of the great English poets and novelists, showing how the Eastern approach differs from the Western. Many of the names mentioned in this book will be unknown to the European reader and he may, therefore, be inclined to skim over them rather lightly; but he will find himself more at home on Ranjee Shahani, Radhakrishnan, Das Gupta, Ghandhij, Nehru and Tagore. There is a good bibliography, though it is to be regretted that in a work so packed with material and names an index has been omitted.

For the past few years George Orwell has been known principally as a writer with sociological interests and a decided leaning to the Left in politics, albeit a writer with a keen critical faculty and a style of his own. *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937) was literature as well as social criticism. In *Critical Essays* (Secker & Warburg, 8/6) his subjects are literary ones, but still the sociological-cum-political interest is in the background and more than once it tends to colour his judgments. For instance, an excellent paper on "Boys' Weeklies", in which the appeal to the youthful mind of such papers as *The Gem* and *The Magnet* is discussed, is spoiled by an obsession that they are a medium of propaganda for "bourgeois ideas and standards", while the writer's plea for a left-wing boys' paper can only be regarded as naïve. Of the more purely literary essays that on Dickens is by far the best and most discerning, though here once again Mr. Orwell's "King Charles' head" persists in intruding. That Dicken's point of view was that of the more liberal-minded middle-class person of his day is undeniable, but to hold

<sup>1</sup> The author makes a distinction, and a useful one, between "Anglo-Indians" (i.e. Englishmen like Sir Edwin Arnold, the Rudyard Kipling of *Kim* and *The Jungle Book*, and the late Edward Thompson, who were intimately acquainted with India and drew the inspiration for their writings from it) and Indo-Anglicans (i.e. Indians who write in English and have absorbed the English literary traditions). It is only with the latter class that he is concerned in the present book.

this as a fault in his writings is to judge him by sociological and not literary standards, while it is going rather far (and surely in the face of the facts) to suggest that his novels really cannot be appreciated outside their framework of English middle-class culture. For the biggest part of a century they have been read in America and in most European countries, and in more recent years have found a public in Soviet Russia. Or would Mr. Orwell claim that although the Russians read them they cannot appreciate them? The paper on Kipling is also stimulating, and a laudable attempt to do justice to an imperialist whose lack of knowledge of the proletariat betrayed itself in a certain condescension, insincerity, and traits that are "aesthetically disgusting". A paper on P. G. Wodehouse resolves itself largely into a defence of that writer against the charge of treachery in 1941; that on W. B. Yeats claims to discern some connexion between his occultism and mysticism and the totalitarian tendencies of the 20's and 30's of the century, while one on H. G. Wells, after a promising opening, becomes very scrappy and reaches no definite conclusions. But in spite of his prejudices (or is it because of them?) Mr. Orwell is always interesting and often provocative; his is certainly live criticism, and even if he has an axe to grind he never becomes cantankerous. All the essays in this volume (ten in number) have appeared in print before in various periodicals, but it is useful and convenient to have them in a collected form.

Arthur Melville Clark's *Studies in Literary Modes* (Oliver & Boyd, 15/—) is a collection of essays on such subjects as The Historical Novel, Satire, Rhetoric, Modern Poetry etc. They are based upon a solid foundation of scholarship and wide reading, but it is impossible not to detect the writer's prejudice against anything that is "modern" in its tendencies. Hence he is a more reliable guide on the literature prior to 1914 than upon that of the last two or three decades, since in the case of this latter he starts with the disadvantage of being out of sympathy with it. Volume XXXI of *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* (O.U.P., 7/6) is edited by Vivian de Sola Pinto and includes papers written or delivered during the year 1945. The only one that relates to the period with which the present survey is concerned is that by L. A. G. Strong on "James Joyce and Vocal Music". And finally there is the twenty-second volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, *Essays by Divers Hands* (O.U.P., 9/6), issued under the editorship of the late Marquess of Crewe. The papers that are of more immediate concern to us are "Hindu Classics for English Readers" by Juan Mascaró, "Wordsworth in Relation to Modern Poetry" by Victoria Sackville-West, and "The Floodlit Mind", a study of three poems by Conrad Aiken, an American poet for long resident in England, by G. Rostron Hamilton. There is also a comparison of Oliver Cromwell and Abraham Lincoln by the Rt. Hon. Isaac Foote; Mr. James Ross, the Chief Librarian of Bristol, contributes a sketch of the history of the Theatre Royal in that City, while Wilfrid Childe examines the verse of Henry Vaughan.

Several new periodicals have appeared during the year. *New Writing and Daylight* and *The Mint* were noticed in the previous survey (*E. S.*,

Febr., 1947) since they contain original creative as well as critical or biographical work. *Theatre Notebook*, edited by Sybil Rosenfeld and Richard Southerne, is designed as a quarterly journal of notes and research on all matter appertaining to the drama and the stage. The manager is Ifan Kyrle Fletcher (32, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W. 1.) and the price 7/6 per year. The numbers that have appeared so far contain exceedingly interesting matter, and, with its very distinguished board of advisers, the journal should maintain a high standard of scholarship. The enthusiasm for Anthony Trollope has produced a semi-annual magazine devoted entirely to the study of his life and works — *The Trollopian* (University of California Press and C.U.P., 9/6 p.a. or 5/— per copy) edited by Bradford A. Booth, while a welcome has already been extended (*E. S.*, Dec., 1946) to a new Italian review of English and American literature, *Anglica* (Florence, G. C. Sansoni, L. 140 per number or L. 800 per year by subscription), edited by Professor N. Orsini. For details of the contents of the first few numbers reference should be made to the earlier notice mentioned above.

In the previous survey a list was given of writers who had died during the year. In the field of scholarship, happily, the corresponding list is much shorter: W. Macneil Dixon, Professor Emeritus of English literature in the University of Glasgow (January 31st.), Logan Pearsall Smith (March 3rd.), J. W. Cunliffe, Professor Emeritus of English Language and Literature in Columbia University (April, 1946), and J. Quincy Adams, American Shakespearean Scholar and Director of the Folger Shakespeare Library (November 11th.). All were distinguished in the field of English studies.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

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